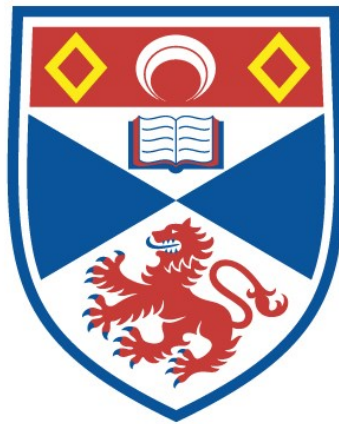


A THEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF KOREAN
FUNDAMENTALISM

Daniel K. Park

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS

**A THEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF
KOREAN FUNDAMENTALISM**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF DIVINITY
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

DANIEL K. PARK

**ST. ANDREWS, SCOTLAND, UNITED KINGDOM
May 11, 2001**



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I was admitted as a research student in October 1996 and as a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in September 1997; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St. Andrews between 1996 and 2001.

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ABSTRACT

Daniel Ki-hyun Park

University of St. Andrews

Thesis: A Theological Analysis of Korean Fundamentalism

This thesis offers a theological analysis of Korean fundamentalism. Chapter One uses various historical sources to trace how Korean society encountered Christianity (particularly fundamentalism) through foreign missionaries in the period 1884-1945 and what features of Korean culture and religions have significant bearing on the development of Korean fundamentalism. It discusses how the Korean church developed during the Japanese colonial period (1905-1945), and why it split between fundamentalism and liberalism after the outbreak of the Second World War. Chapter Two discusses the life and work of Hyung-ryong Park, the most influential fundamentalist theologian in Korea between 1930-1970. It examines a number of primary texts in order to analyse the influence on his work of important Old Princeton theologians (Archibald Alexander, Charles Hodge, Benjamin Warfield and Gresham Machen), and also examines how his major writings develop the doctrines described in the formative text *The Fundamentals: A Testimony to Truth*. Chapter Three considers the legacy of Park's fundamentalism to the Korean church today and identifies some of the theological weaknesses of present-day fundamentalism. It makes some positive suggestions regarding theological tasks facing the Korean church today.

INTRODUCTION

1. The Purpose of This Research

The purpose of this research is to assist Korean Christians who have been affiliated with fundamentalism to engage theologically with some of the questions and issues it raises. My concern is that Korean fundamentalism needs to find ways of both upholding the integrity of the Christian gospel and serving the spiritual needs of Korean people today. Korean fundamentalism, from its start to this day, has been concentrating on maintaining doctrinal statements within the church. As long as this maintenance is part of the church's purpose and not an end in itself, then Korean fundamentalism can be seen as a faithful instrument of God's mission. However, if this maintenance involves no practical implications for the world outside the church, it remains simply a 'religious' act rather than becoming the light and salt of the world. My concern is that the church has distanced itself from its society. This has arisen from the church's failure to making itself known to the world by reassessing its mission, the nature of its evangelism and prophetic witness.

How, then, is the Korean church to respond to this situation? Are the older fundamentalist conceptions of Christianity that came to Korea with the early American missionaries invalid for the present age? Were they mistaken in certain essential matters? How can the evangelical zeal of the early missionaries be reclaimed without reinforcing the problematic aspects of fundamentalism. It is the goal of this research to find ways for Korean fundamentalism to overcome its close-minded theological position towards its society and to meet the spiritual needs of Korean people today.

To achieve these goals, I analyse the theological background of Korean fundamentalism, giving special reference to Hyung-ryong Park (a leading figure in Korean fundamentalism). This research is necessary insofar as no-one has yet made a detailed study of Park's dogmatic theology in relation to American fundamentalism. Park's significance is that his fundamentalist theology had a great influence on the Korean Presbyterian church. His theology was based on American

fundamentalism and the Old Princetonian version of Calvinism. Fundamentalism, which has been dominant in the Korean church at least since Park's involvement in it began, has maintained the positive aspects (such as biblical authority and divine sovereignty) of Reformed theology but has centred its theology upon a narrow set of doctrines. The consequence of this has been the church's intolerance towards the problems of society. Arguably, this narrow focus contrasts with Calvin's theology, which acknowledged a broad spectrum of Christian doctrines and made significant reference to their practical implications. Hence, this thesis engages with Park with a view to proposing some ways for Korean fundamentalism to overcome the potential weakness associated with its delimitation of Christian doctrines. In so doing, it is hoped that readers of this thesis will not only understand what Korean fundamentalism is and how it has diverged from Christian tradition, but also begin to understand the broad scope of the classical Reformed Christian doctrines and their practical implications for their religious lives.¹ This thesis aims to be helpful both to those who have previously been affiliated with fundamentalism and have then been challenged by doubts and to those who are seeking to define the relationship between Christian doctrine and practice in the light of Reformed tradition.

2. The Main Question(s)

Throughout the history of the Korean church,² nothing has ever been more important than winning souls and keeping to the doctrinal statements which were received from the earliest foreign missionaries and from Hyung-ryong Park. Since its inception, as will be shown in chapter one, the Korean church has been emphasising the necessity of evangelism via door-to-door visiting, distribution of gospel tracts and Christian newsletters, and revival meetings. Although the Korean

¹ Since this thesis is not about Calvin, I am not able to move beyond what is required by this thesis.

² I shall be considering only the Protestant churches in this thesis, unless I specify the Catholic church.

church has not been too careful in choosing methods of bringing non-Christian-background people to Western Christianity, its emphasis can be explained as the positive attempt to live out the Christian message and to be the church amidst Korean traditional beliefs. At the same time, the Korean church, whose denominational background has been centred on Presbyterianism, has maintained the characteristics of American fundamentalism. Of the denominations present in Korea, the Presbyterian church is the strongest adherent to fundamentalist doctrinal statements. Since the Presbyterian church represents more than 65% of Korean Christians,³ and since aspects of Presbyterian fundamentalism are shared by other denominations (such as Methodism, Holiness evangelicalism, and Pentecostalism), I maintain that Korean Christianity is dominated by the fundamentalist theology and mentality.⁴ It is essential to ask what has characterised Korean fundamentalism?

According to George Paik, separatism was one of the strongest characteristics of Korean fundamentalism in the 1930s.⁵ Korean fundamentalism considered the church to be holy and therefore believed that it should be separated from the secular world. Paik argues that the church in Korea became centred on doctrinal faith, and did not consider the practical implications of such a faith in the world. This was explicitly demonstrated during the 1930s controversy between fundamentalism and liberalism, when Korean fundamentalism defended the fundamental Christian doctrines (the so called 'five-point' doctrine) and assumed a militant stance against liberalism. As a result, Korean fundamentalists were known to both conservative and liberal Christians in Korea as defenders of the 'five-point' doctrine and as practitioners of doctrinal reductionism, theological innovation, and doctrine-

³ Young-kyu Park, *A History of Presbyterian Theological Thought in Korea*, Seoul: Chongshin Pub. Co., p. 17.

⁴ Duk-ju Kim, *Korean Christian Thought*, Seoul: Yean-se Press, 1997, p. 27.

⁵ George L. Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 1832-1910*, Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1970, p. 177. Paik states that the Korean church was influenced by many foreign missionaries, who were particularly influenced by D.L. Moody's 'premillennial movement' and 'biblicism'.

orientation. This style of faith is still predominant in today's Korean fundamentalism.⁶

Despite being a Korean who comes from the fundamentalist tradition, I question whether the Korean church's fundamentalist mentality is likely to be effective in the saving of souls in Korea today. The church is facing a mission crisis in today's pluralist society. In fact, the Korean church has gone through problems of political theology and pluralism between 1930 and 1980.⁷ Both of these theological interpretations failed to draw close links between Christian essentials and social matters because they lost sight of religious identity. Political theology, which viewed the Bible as the only source of socio-political innovation, left out the Bible's theological and historical implications of God's saving grace. Pluralism also resulted in relativism; this admits the truth in all religions rather than in only one.

Fundamentalism, likewise, has been unsuccessful its mission in relation to social matters, because it inclined towards the church's inner ministry and doctrinal statements. I do not suggest that fundamentalism is totally irrelevant to current circumstances; fundamentalist theology may yet have a major role in re-establishing the church's mission. However, I suggest that a different response is needed today. Korean fundamentalism is in danger of repeating mistakes of past. In order to deal with the issue of meeting contemporary needs, arguably, fundamentalist theology needs to be re-framed within the broader spectrum of Christian theology. My concern is that, Korean fundamentalism needs a more adequate theological basis, and that this basis is likely to be closer to the writings of Calvin than those of fundamentalists. In other words, the criteria against which Korean fundamentalism today should judge its theology is not the whims of contemporary society but the truths of the gospel, as expounded by Calvin and others. Hence, this raises such questions as: 'In what sense is Christianity in Korea significant to the Korean

⁶ Ibid., pp. 27-35.

⁷ Kim, Eui-hwan. *The Conservative Theology is Challenged*. Seoul: San Myung Eui Mal Sum Sa, 1992, pp. 50-88. See also Yong-wha Na, *A Theological Assessment of Minjung Theology, Systematically and Biblically*, Seoul: Christian Literature Crusade, 1987.

people in times of cultural and social transformation?', 'Is fundamentalist Christianity in Korea effective in its mission?', and 'How can Korean fundamentalism stand for doctrinal faith without consideration of this faith's practical implications?' To address these questions properly requires both a historical and theological consideration of fundamentalism.

The thrust of these questions is towards Korean fundamentalism's lack of understanding that doctrinal faith needs to be enacted within contemporary society. In other words, Korean fundamentalism needs to reassess its mission, the nature of its evangelism and prophetic witness in the light of the truth of the gospel, as elucidated by Calvin and other important Reformers. The Korean church finds its meaning in a transcendent God who works within them in their daily lives. Fundamentalist Christians in Korea prefer a theo-centric Christianity whereas liberal Christians prefer a humanity-oriented Christianity. Hence, arguably, the central issue between fundamentalists and liberals becomes 'which aspect of theology is more important?' Considering the significance of Christianity in relation to human life in today's complicated society, I realise that the more the church draws in on itself (or becomes over-traditional) the more it becomes isolated from society. Similar ideas have been expressed by Jürgen Moltmann who realised that Christianity faces a double crisis (which he calls 'identity-involvement dilemma'): the *crisis of relevance* and the *crisis of identity*.⁸ He stated: "The more theology and the church attempt to become relevant to the problems of the present day, the more deeply they are drawn into the crisis of their own Christian identity. The more they attempt to assert their identity in traditional dogmas, rights and moral notions, the more irrelevant and unbelievable they become".⁹ Moltmann asserted that a church which clings to its existing form and ideology loses its contact with the reality of the world. At the same time, he said that anything which demythologises the Bible and opens the church towards the world leads to ecclesiastical disobedience.

⁸ Jürgen Moltmann, *The Crucified God*, New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1974, p. 7.

⁹ Ibid.

Moltmann's description, although coming from a European context, fits the Korean situation in a surprisingly apt fashion. The more Korean fundamentalism seeks to define Christianity as transcendent, the more it loses the parallel components with which it can fulfill its mission. On the other hand, Korean fundamentalism risks losing its identity if it engages with cultural and social problems. How, then, can Korean fundamentalism maintain its theological identity while presenting itself as relevant to Korean society?

Since Korean fundamentalism understands Calvinism to be Christian orthodoxy, I argue that it needs to study Calvin's thoughts deeply. It particularly needs to reconsider his understanding of the relationships between church and culture and between doctrine and practice. Although Korean fundamentalism claims that its theology is based upon that of Calvin, it has often gone beyond Calvin by creating its own peculiar doctrines. Moreover, Korean fundamentalism's tendency to react against other theological interpretations, which implies that Christianity should be confined to a single theological hermeneutic, is arguably, not found anywhere in Calvin's work. Calvin's theological method was not the deduction of a system from a few central doctrines. It is a basic concern of this thesis to show why Korean fundamentalism should reassess the nature of its evangelism and prophetic witness in the light of Calvin's understanding of Christian theology. In this way, it can become aware that other theological hermeneutics can also be effectively used to further God's revelation in Korean society. To show this, I refer to the work of both Calvin and some Calvinist theologians. These help me to suggest some solutions to Korean fundamentalism's problems. However, this thesis is not on Calvin and, at most, I can point out some areas of Calvin's writings which might be useful to Korean fundamentalism. So, this work will be accomplished mostly through the lens of secondary sources, since I am not an expert in Calvin and, thus, cannot do more than what is possible.

3. Methodology

Since this thesis is concerned with Korean fundamentalism's lack of theological practice (meaning that Korean fundamentalism needs to reassess its mission, the nature of its evangelism and prophetic witness), it can be described in general terms as an exercise in practical theology. More precisely, it is structured in a similar pattern to Don Browning's sketch of fundamental practical theology. I model my work on that of Browning and follow his statements that theology is fundamentally practical and that theology works within the framework of four submovements: descriptive, historical, systematic and strategic practical theology. Browning's theological structure is useful in that he provides ways to enable discussion of the nature and significance of practical theology, while considering other theological disciplines in relation to Korean fundamentalism. Browning's work is more about suggesting procedural rather than substantive considerations to my thesis. In other words, he does not explain what to think about Korean fundamentalism, but provides pointers as to how I might assess and address my concerns. Although Browning's theological exercise informs me of some ways to approach Korean fundamentalism, I do not follow Browning in detail throughout the dissertation.

In using the term 'practical', or more precisely 'practical theology', Browning refers to four subspecialties (descriptive, historical, systematic, and strategic practical theology) of the larger discipline which he calls 'fundamental practical theology'.¹⁰ He defines fundamental practical theology as a church discipline which covers both ecclesiastical matters (such as Christian education, pastoral care, preaching, liturgy, and social ministries) and the public dimension. Similarly, I intend to focus on the Korean fundamentalism's need to reconstruct its theology. This reconstruction should be based on the idea that theology is not simply a set of theoretical statements but is an expression of historical and pragmatic reality.

¹⁰ Don Browning, *A Fundamental Practical Theology*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991, p. 8.

Giving some credit to Johann Metz's idea of a practical fundamental theology, but more to his own approach that practical theology is fundamental, Browning suggests that all theology is practical in nature and that praxis is premacy over theory.¹¹ Browning distinguishes his method of fundamental practical theology from Metz's practical fundamental theology for two reasons. Firstly, while Browning suggests that theological work is implemented within diverse personal, institutional, and cultural dimensions and particular contemporary practices, Metz proposes a description of the contemporary situation based "on the central, dominating, global trend—that is, the pervasive and ever-expanding supremacy of the exchange principle".¹² Browning is concerned with the point that, even if the exchange principle dominates contemporary social practice, each individual responds differently to the trend which complicate the range of contemporary practice. He regards Metz's focus on the general features of contemporary situation in relation to general themes of the Christian message, as limiting the range of practical issues to the general interest of systematic theology.¹³

Secondly, while having a general interpretation of contemporary situation, Metz maintains nonidentity and discontinuity between contemporary practices and normative Christian practices. Browning argues that this overlooks revised correlational practical theology. This theology pays attention to the *identities*, *nonidentities*, and *analogies* between interpretations of contemporary practices and interpretations of normative Christian practices.¹⁴ Whereas Metz's approach concentrating on converting secular contemporary practices into Christian assumptions, Browning suggests that Christian practice should move further to engage with public and critical discourses which may promote its own praxis.

Practical theology in Browning's understanding, therefore, does not only occur within the purely 'ecclesiastical' realm but also occurs in contemporary practices. In

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 67, 9, 43. This statement is supported by his preference of 'practice-theory-practice' model' to 'theory-to-practice' model' of earlier practical theology.

¹² Ibid., p. 67.

¹³ Ibid., pp. 67-68.

these, Christianity finds similar patterns of meanings between itself and the public world which are embodied in symbols and languages of humanity. This is demonstrated by both Christians and non-Christians communicating and developing their knowledge via systems of transmitted conceptions expressed in common languages and cultures. This means that practical theology is concerned not only with general points of contemporary practices but also with individuals' concrete and specific events. If anything can be learned from Browning's methodology, it is the idea that although practical theology is concerned with the exchange principle of the world, our approach to contemporary practices must be holistic and respectful of their particular situations.

Browning's outline of the four submovements of a fundamental practical theology helps to define the methodology of this thesis. The first submovement Browning suggests is 'descriptive theology'. He defines this submovement as describing "the contemporary theory-laden practices that give rise to the practical questions that generate all theological reflection".¹⁴ He explains that it analyses cultural and religious backgrounds which have given rise to our religious and secular practices. It employs such questions as "What reasons, ideals, and symbols do we use to interpret what we are doing?" In order to properly address the issues of Korean fundamentalism, I also use this method, along with Browning's other three submovements, in the course of this research. Through his descriptive method, we can better understand fundamentalism's emergence and the cultural and religious elements which may have predisposed Koreans towards fundamentalism.

Unfortunately, only a few theologians (such as Dong-sik Yu and Chun-sung Chun) have attempted to attribute the rise of Korean fundamentalism to aspects of its cultural and historical settings. Little attention has been paid to the role of the early foreign missionary professors in shaping Korean fundamentalism.¹⁵ As far as cause and effect are concerned, Korean fundamentalism was a 'certain' historical

¹⁴ Ibid. p. 68.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 47.

movement which developed from both Korean culture and the new ideas imported with American fundamentalism. Therefore, lack of attention to cultural elements and to the missionaries' motives will prevent correct assessment of the nature and tendencies of Korean fundamentalism. In chapter one, this descriptive submovement is considered in a discussion of Korean fundamentalism's cultural-religious and socio-political backgrounds. In a cursory form, it traces some cultural, political and religious factors which gave impetus to Korean fundamentalism's rise.

The second movement is 'historical theology'. Browning proposes that this submovement asks "What do the normative texts that are already part of our effective history *really* imply for our praxis when they are confronted as honestly as possible?"¹⁷ These normative texts include various biblical and theological studies and writings on church history and the historical background of Christian thought. This submovement is often guided by the questions emerging from descriptive theology. My study is also concerned with this point. In particular, I consider Hyung-ryong Park's doctrinal and ecclesiastical explanatory interests as normative texts for the Korean situation. Park influenced the Korean church with his dogmatic theology. In chapter two, I identify the positive and negative aspects of Parks' theology. I suggest that some of his thoughts concerning Christian doctrines accord with Calvinism, and thus, become parts of a larger practical hermeneutic enterprise. However, I argue that his understanding that the doctrine of biblical inerrancy is part of orthodox Christianity and that the 'five-point' doctrine is the core of historical Christianity require further discussion. I also question whether his theology can meet the need for theological praxis in contemporary Korean society.

The third movement is 'systematic theology'. Browning defines this as "the fusion of horizons between the vision implicit in contemporary practices and the vision implied in the practices of the normative Christian texts".¹⁸ Systematic theology carefully examines the general issues of Christian beliefs which respond to

¹⁶Young-kyu Park, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20.

¹⁷Don Browning, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

the general questions that involve current situations. In this thesis, the practices that resulted from Park's fundamentalism are identified as the vision implicit in contemporary practices, while the practices implicit in Calvin's teachings are described as the practices of the normative Christian texts. In chapter three, I discuss both present-day Korean fundamentalism's (which follows Park's theology) positive attitude toward Calvinist doctrinal tradition and passive attitude toward Calvinism's theological practice. The primary concern is that the relevant horizon of Christian meaning may be defined when Korean fundamentalism (present practice) is brought to Calvin (the normative Christian text). Hence, I try to point out some potential themes of present-day Korean fundamentalism and the vision latent in it in the light of Calvinism, in order to find solutions to the problem of Korean fundamentalism's indifference to theological practice. However, achieving this task will take more work than can be accomplished in this thesis.

The fourth movement is 'strategic practical theology'. This movement establishes the norms and strategies of concrete practices in the light of analyses of concrete situations. Browning introduces four questions: 1) How do we understand this concrete situation in which we must act?; 2) What should be our praxis in this concrete situation?; 3) How do we critically defend the norms of our praxis in this concrete situation? and 4) What means, strategies, and rhetorics should we use in this concrete situation?¹⁹ These questions deal with the special histories, commitments, and needs of present situation. Once a concrete situation is defined, the symbolic and actional norms that have been shaped by historical and systematic theology merge with the particularities of the situation. This leads us to deal with the church's dual praxis: in itself and the world. Strategic practical theology is, therefore, concerned both with the church's internal ministry and with public liturgies and rhetorics.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 51.

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 55-58.

Considering strategic practical theology, this thesis argues that Korean fundamentalism needs to construct the norms and strategies of its faith, while helping Christians to understand what their faith means in the context of a changing society. Korean fundamentalists often base their theology on God's transcendent nature, while ignoring His immanent attributes in human history. In order to be part of the solution to the problems of human life, Korean fundamentalism needs to project facets that have something in common with social reality. In proposing that Korean fundamentalism's need for practical theology, chapter three considers Christian doctrines in relation to contemporary issues. Korean fundamentalism often separates itself from human society and culture. It also tends to dismiss other interpretations of theology because it believes the latter undermine the uniqueness of Christian traditions. This, however, has resulted in it ignoring ways of bridging the gap between church and society; Korean fundamentalism needs to define generic features of Christian doctrine in relation to generic features of present Korean society. Hence, I suggest that Korean fundamentalism needs to understand that the Korean church carries out its mission task in different ways because it has different interpretations of the contemporary issues.

4. What is Fundamentalism?

In chapter one, I describe Korean fundamentalism's emergence as a result of liberalism's theological challenge to conservatism in the 1930s. Despite the predominance of conservatism, a number of Korean Presbyterian theologians, including Jae-jun Kim and Chang-kun Song, challenged the existing conservative theology by introducing biblical criticism. The Korean fundamentalist advocate Hyung-ryong Park regarded biblical criticism as harmful to the traditional understanding of the Scriptures and hence militantly opposed it. He defined 'fundamentalism' as "an act of insisting upon traditional orthodox faith, such as the inerrancy of the Bible and other fundamental principles of Protestantism, and of fortifying true apostolic tradition against its enemy [modernism, more specifically,

biblical criticism and Darwinism]”²⁰ He also defined Korean fundamentalism as a defender of the ‘five-point doctrine’. The points of this doctrine are: 1) the inerrancy of the Bible, 2) the virgin birth of Christ, 3) his substitutionary atonement, 4) his bodily resurrection and 5) his bodily return.²¹ Hence, the term ‘fundamentalism’ can refer to Korean theological conservatism which clings to the ‘five-point doctrinal statements’ in the face of modern theological hermeneutics. This is how I will use the term in certain sections of this dissertation. Anecdotal evidence leads me to believe that some of the five doctrines have been maintained by many Protestant Christians throughout the history of Korean Protestantism and are still important bases for their religious lives. However, it is questionable whether these five doctrines represent all aspects of Christian tradition. It is also questionable whether Korean fundamentalism interprets the first doctrine in the light of Reformed tradition. Since Park’s definition of fundamentalism has influenced many Korean Christians, I discuss the controversy over this particular doctrine in chapter two.

In order to analyse the theological background of Korean fundamentalism and Hyung-ryong Park, I refer to American fundamentalism. In chapter two, I describe the emergence of American fundamentalism and its influence upon Korean fundamentalism. Briefly, Korean fundamentalism originated from American fundamentalism of the 1920s. Although Korean fundamentalism emerged in its Korean context in the 1930s, it needs to be seen as related to American fundamentalism. This is because Hyung-ryong Park was influenced by Old Princetonians who were involved in American fundamentalist movement.

Two of the difficulties associated with defining ‘fundamentalism’ are i) historians’ and theologians’ different projections of this term according to their own theological backgrounds, and ii) the fact that some of their definitions are not as accurate as others. For these reasons, I refer to the leading studies of American fundamentalism by George Marsden and Harriet Harris. George Marsden, a

²⁰ Hyung-ryong Park, *A Complete Works of Dr. Hyung-ryong Park Vol. XIII*, Seoul: Korean Christian Education Research Centre, 1978, p. 280.

prominent historian of American fundamentalism, states that the term 'fundamentalist' was coined in 1920 by Curtis Lee Laws, the editor of the Baptist *Watchman-Examiner*, to designate those who were "ready to do battle royal for the Fundamentals".²² He further states that the term was soon used to describe American Protestants and traditionalists who employed innovative doctrines and who were willing to fight against cultural modernism and theological liberalism. In her book *Fundamentalism and Evangelicals*, Harriet Harris states that the distinctive characteristics of fundamentalism are its peculiar view of the Bible (biblical inerrancy) and its holiness-dispensationalist separatist tendency.²³ In what follows, I draw upon the work of both Marsden and Harris and, broadly speaking, accept their conclusions regarding American fundamentalism's historical and theological innovations. However, in the context of Korean fundamentalism I follow Hyung-ryong Park's and his followers' understandings of fundamentalism. Further discussion of the definitions of 'fundamentalism' is given in chapter two.

5. On the Difficulties of Defining Fundamentalism

As will become clear, Park's association of fundamentalism with the 'five-point' doctrine gives rise to the question whether there is any relationship between American fundamentalism and Korean fundamentalism. Hence, it is important to review the major theorists of American fundamentalism in order to consider such problems as how Korean fundamentalism became so involved in doctrinal reductionism and why its separatist tendency has become irrelevant to contemporary Korean society. I briefly discuss, therefore, some historians' misunderstanding of original fundamentalism and other competent scholars' re-statement of the nature of this movement, and engage with these discussions which compare various scholars' definitions of fundamentalism with reference to the

²¹ Ibid., 279. See also Young-kyu Park, op. cit., pp. 197-198.

²² George Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism*, Michigan: Wm. Eerdmans Pub. co. 1991, p. 57.

²³ Harriet Harris, *Fundamentalism and Evangelicals*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998, p.p. 20-25.

American context. The difficulties of defining the term 'fundamentalism' have to do with how different theologians emphasise different aspects of fundamentalism. Some have defined the term positively, emphasising fundamentalism's important role as a defender of traditional Christian faith in the midst of changing society. Others have defined the term as a coalition of diverse evangelical movement, some of which were innovative (the premillennial dispensationalist movement, the Keswick Holiness movement), and others of which contained innovations (the Presbyterian doctrine of biblical inerrancy). For the purpose of this thesis, which analyses the theological background of Korean fundamentalism in relation to American fundamentalism, I rely upon a few competent scholars' conclusions about fundamentalism. These literature is central to my work in that it draws upon fundamentalism's innovative aspects (e.g. biblical inerrancy and separatism). After examining these historians' arguments, I explain why my research is necessary.

Three scholars of American fundamentalism (Ernest Sandeen, George Marsden, Harriet Harris) and one Korean fundamentalist advocate (Hyung-ryong Park) have contributed greatly to the understanding of the historical and theological backgrounds of American and Korean fundamentalism. In his book *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism* (1970), Sandeen argued that Stewart G. Cole (1931), a 1930s historian of fundamentalism, misunderstood the core of the fundamentalist movement as defending the five point doctrinal statements which, he thought, were established at the Niagara Conference of 1895.²⁴ Sandeen's finding that the conference had actually passed fourteen articles shows that the 'five-point doctrine' did not really represent the movement. According to Sandeen, fundamentalism was a millenarian movement which upheld biblical inerrancy and was strictly separatist and dispensationalist. Sandeen's view is only partially accepted by Marsden and Harris because it covers only a few aspects of

²⁴ Ernest Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism 1800-1930*, Chicago: University of Chicago, 1970, pp. xiv-xv. His misunderstanding of the five-point doctrine was later followed by such scholars as Robert Handy (1954), Louis Gasper (1963) and Paul

fundamentalism, and ignores its wider roots: Revivalism, pietism, the Baconian and the Scottish Common Sense Philosophy, the holiness and dispensationalist movement, nineteenth-century evangelicalism, and Old Princeton theologians' doctrine of biblical inerrancy.²⁵

Marsden's approach to fundamentalism is directed towards its diverse backgrounds and characteristics. Marsden is the first to suggest analysing the movement as emerging from a broad coalition of both traditional and innovative strands, including various conservative denominations, within evangelicalism. He states that fundamentalism's passion for individualism, holiness teachings and the Bible arises from the pietist and revivalist heritage. He notes that its innovative strands included the strong sectarian tendencies of dispensationalism and the biblical inerrancy of the Old Princetonians. While basing his analysis of fundamentalism upon traditionalism, theological innovation, and Baconian and Common Sense philosophy, Marsden understands original fundamentalism to be a synthesis of various Protestant Christians who had innovative theological characteristics.

Marsden's analysis is supported by Harris who posits a similar historical approach to fundamentalism. In her book *Fundamentalism and Evangelicals*, Harris argues that fundamentalism was a coalition of diverse evangelical movement, consisting of both traditional and innovative strands, including conservative Presbyterians, revivalists, and members of both holiness and dispensationalist movements. It was made distinct from earlier forms of evangelicalism by its distinctive theology and 'high' view of Scripture.²⁶ Harris's special contribution to the study of fundamentalism is where she discusses extensively the innovative theological doctrines of fundamentalism which were based on the Common Sense Philosophy of Princeton theologians. Although she maintains that fundamentalism

Carter (1968). See Harriet Harris, *Fundamentalism and Evangelicals*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998, p. 25.

²⁵ George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1980, pp. 5-8.

was similar to evangelicalism in that it shared many doctrines, she believes that fundamentalism diverged from both the broader Christian tradition and evangelicalism in viewing the Bible as error-free.²⁷ Discussing the theological innovations of the Princeton theologians in relation to Dutch Reformed theology's neo-Calvinism, Harris provides a new approach to understanding Old Princetonian fundamentalism, which had departed from original Calvinism and had become committed to both biblical inerrancy and evidentialist apologetics. Harris's findings that Old Princeton's fundamentalism was innovative and hence differed from original Calvinism helps me to discuss Hyung-ryong Park since he believed that they were the same.

Hyung-ryong Park was a leading figure in Korean fundamentalism who defined 'fundamentalists' as defenders of 'apostolic tradition', 'Reformed theology', 'orthodox Christianity' and the 'five fundamental doctrines'.²⁸ The facts that he took Cole's book to be an authentic sketch of American fundamentalism and that he understood fundamentalism to be a continuation of orthodox Christianity, show how important this study is in restating and reconfirming the actual movement of original fundamentalism.²⁹ I shall argue that, as a result of adopting Cole's definition of fundamentalism and insisting upon the five 'essential' doctrines, Korean fundamentalism became involved in doctrinal reductionism and hence diverged from original Calvinism. Present-day Korean fundamentalism's view that biblical inerrancy is not a new theory but one that has been maintained throughout the history of the church follows the argument of American theologians Randall H. Balmer and J. D. Woodbridge. However, William J. Abraham and Theodore P. Letis reject this assertion because they believe that biblical inerrancy was 'invented' by the Old Princetonians. I consider this issue in the section "Old Princeton

²⁶ Harriet Harris, op. cit., p. 313

²⁷ Ibid., p. 30.

²⁸ Hyung-ryong Park, *A Complete Works of Dr. Hyung-ryong Park Vol. XIII*, op. cit., p. 279.

²⁹ Ibid., pp. 276-280.

Theologians' Doctrine of Biblical Inerrancy" and I question whether biblical inerrancy was original Calvinism's actual position.

Since Marsden's and Harris's study of fundamentalism have much to contribute to understanding American fundamentalism, I use their books as a starting point for my research. Their diverse understandings of fundamentalism aspects (such as history, culture, theology and sociology), help this study to focus on the innovative and negative aspects of Korean fundamentalism. These were all, to some extent, influenced by American fundamentalism. However, since my thesis focuses more on Korean fundamentalism than on American fundamentalism, I refer to Hyung-ryong Park's theological work, along with other contemporary theologians' understanding of this movement, to discuss Korean fundamentalism's current problems.

6. Outline of Dissertation

I consider this study to be worthwhile and important because it traces the historico-theological roots of Korean fundamentalism. This historico-theological work is different from other types of historical analysis of Korean fundamentalism in that it involves the historical nature of the theological work. Korean fundamentalism arose as part of the fundamentalist-liberal controversy. A number of Korean theologians (including Seung-hong Han and Eui-hwan Kim) have argued that Hyung-ryong Park's theology is similar to Old Princetonian fundamentalist theology, and yet have not studied this similarity in any depth. Hence, I hope that this study of Korean fundamentalism, in relation to American fundamentalism, Old Princeton theology and the broader Christian tradition, will give readers a clear picture of the problems that Korean fundamentalism now faces and of my suggested solutions to these problems. The following outlines this dissertation.

In chapter one, I describe a history of Korean Fundamentalism. This is where the notion of 'descriptive theology' is applied. Taking into account that Korean fundamentalism developed within Korean cultural and religious settings, I consider

Korea's religious and cultural atmosphere before the beginning of Protestant missions. I discuss Buddhism, Confucianism, Shamanism and Catholicism in the light of Korean history and analyse how those religious elements have predisposed some Koreans towards fundamentalism. I note that Catholicism was introduced to Korea by foreign missionaries and consider how positively Korean people responded to this new religion even when it was being persecuted. This will help to show that Protestant missionaries used this 'conservative' vehicle to build up their fundamentalist theology in the Korean church. In regard to Protestant missionary work in Korea, I examine some pioneer missionaries. This is crucial in understanding Korean fundamentalism because one of the roots of Korean fundamentalism was the evangelicalism of the early American missionaries. Important missionaries, including Horace G. Underwood, Henry G. Appenzeller, John Ross, Alexander Williamson and John MacIntyre, and their particular approaches to Korean society, are discussed in length. This also leads to a discussion of the structure of the early Korean church as created by these foreign missionaries: this discussion is important in understanding how the Korean church came to place the Bible at the centre of its mission, particularly through 'The Nevius Mission Methods'. The fact that biblical inerrancy is Korean fundamentalism's most important doctrine shows that the missionaries' conservative views of the Bible contributed to shaping later Korean fundamentalism. To acquire a clearer understanding about the theological background of Korean fundamentalism, I refer to the theological background and characteristics of the early Protestant missionaries. I deal first with Horace Underwood and Henry Appenzeller, whose theological background reflected much of the American evangelicalism of nineteenth-century. I consider both their enthusiastic work and their lack of engagement with the cultural reality of contemporary society. I argue that their conservative theology has shaped the Korean church since they established the earliest Presbyterian and Methodist churches in Korea. I also analyse Princeton-graduate missionary professors (Stacy

L. Robert, W. C. Eerdmans, and Floyd E. Hamilton) who taught theology in Pyung Yang Seminary, in order to argue that their enthusiasm for furthering the Princetonian understanding of biblical inerrancy is what influenced the Korean church to take action against modernism.

In the section "The Structure of the Korean Church During the Japanese Colonial Period (1910-1945)", I examine the period when the church was under severe persecution by the Japanese, and how missionaries and Korean Christians reacted against political and religious oppression. Since 'descriptive theology' is concerned with reasons, ideals, and symbols which become legitimate sources for contemporary practice, I consider how the church's non-politicity, which was one of fundamentalism's characteristics, was strictly enforced by the missionaries during this period. At the end of this section, I argue that Korean fundamentalism emerged as a result of controversy between conservatism and liberalism, this controversy having been prompted by the 'Shrine Question' and its challenge to conservatism.

In chapter two, I focus on Hyung-ryong Park (whose name can also be transliterated as Hyung Nong Park), the most influential fundamentalist theologian in Korea between 1930 and 1970. The second submovement (historical theology) is applied in this chapter. Park's theological works are normative texts which contain both positive and negative elements of theological praxis. I suggest that some of his thoughts, which follow the Old Princeton tradition, accord with aspects of Calvinism. However, at the same time, his following of the Old Princetonians' innovative doctrine makes less certain that his works become a sure foundation for the practical hermeneutic enterprise. Examining these aspects of Park's theology helps us to assess the nature and problems of Korean fundamentalism. Before doing this, I discuss various historians' and theologians' definitions of the term 'fundamentalism'. This will aid understanding of the nature and purpose of fundamentalism in both America and Korea. The next discussion is about American fundamentalism's strong hostility to modernism in the 1920s and its complicated

coalition of strains of Protestantism with theological innovations. To analyse Park's fundamentalist position, I trace the history of Old Princeton theologians. I argue that Park was particularly influenced by the writings of Archibald Alexander, Charles Hodge, Benjamin Warfield and Gresham Machen. In order to demonstrate this, I refer to some of their theological writings and to some of Park's dogmatic theology. A careful study of Park's theology in relation to that of the Old Princetonians will show how Korean fundamentalism came to organise itself around the 'five-point' doctrine. This was not the case for the American fundamentalist movement. I demonstrate that Park regarded the doctrine of inerrancy/inspiration of the Bible as the most crucial doctrine, and hence rejected all kinds of biblical criticism and 'scientific' approaches to the Scriptures. I also argue that Park shared the belief of the Old Princeton theologians that special revelation is superior to general revelation. This followed his predecessors' assertions of faith over reason. Finally, I argue that Park's five-point doctrine' is largely based upon the theological doctrines promoted in *The Fundamentals: A Testimony to Truth*. Although American fundamentalism does not spring exclusively from *The Fundamentals*, I analyse the extent to which Park's understanding of fundamentalism is related to the concepts of the articles about essential Christian doctrines in these volumes.

The third and the fourth submovements (systematic theology and strategic practical theology) are covered in chapter three. Present-day Korean fundamentalism (contemporary practice), which is the result of Park's fundamentalism, needs to be brought to Calvinism (the normative Christian text), in order to overcome its lack of theological practice. This indicates that Korean fundamentalism can find access to strategic practical theology in Calvinism. This will ultimately leads it to connect its internal ministry with public liturgies. Hence, I challenge present-day Korean fundamentalist theology by means of a comparison with major aspects of Calvin's theology. I argue that, as a result of fundamentalist influences by both the early missionaries and Hyung-ryong Park, Korean theology and the Korean church are still predominantly fundamentalist in various respects

and, consequently, unable to serve the needs of contemporary Korean society. I discuss present-day fundamentalism's pessimistic views of relationships between church, culture and state, and argue that Korean fundamentalism is not truly Calvinist but, rather, fundamentalist-Calvinist. By this I mean that present-day fundamentalism is doctrinally reductionist with respect to Calvin's theology. Its strong emphasis on the five 'essential' doctrines does not resemble Calvin's understanding of the full range of Christian doctrine and misrepresents his understanding of the relationship between doctrine and practice. I argue that fundamentalism needs to understand the importance of being open to diverse ways of interpreting Christian truth and to the development of ecumenical awareness.

1. A History of Korean Fundamentalism

The theology that emerges from the contemporary church in Korea appears to be a mixture of conservatism and liberalism.³⁰ While the former is based on a fundamentalism which upholds the traditional views of God's transcendence, the fundamental doctrines of Protestant Christianity, and individual salvation as the ultimate goal of church's mission, the latter is founded upon modern theology³¹ which extends its theological understanding of revelation to the realm of cultural, social, political and scientific reality.

Fundamentalism in Korea, which many proponents now prefer to be described as 'conservatism' or 'evangelicalism', has formed the mainstream theology of Korea since its introduction from America. Korean fundamentalism, which began officially in the 1930s, with its strict attitudes concerning the non-political characteristic of the church, its adherence to the 'five-point' doctrine and its indifference toward social issues, rejected the contemporary trend toward biblical criticism. The early missionaries denied any relationship between the church and politics. Thus, both the existing government and any form of political activity were matters of indifference to the early Protestant missionaries. As foreigners, it was appropriate for them not to interfere in political problems and to maintain political neutrality. However, this neutrality was not supposed to apply to Korean Christians, for their lives were directly linked with politics and the nation's destiny. The conservative fundamentalist trend predominated, since some cultural-religious

³⁰ Conservatism is defined as a theological standpoint which stresses the transcendence and absoluteness of God the Father on the basis of patriarchal and paternal understanding of the Bible, while liberalism is understood as a progressive theology of political and social liberation based on God the Son, which clearly speaks of the historical harmony of the transcendent God in the light of humanism or historical analysis (Dong-sik Yu, *The Vein of Korean Theology*, Seoul: Chun Mang Sa, 1982; Chung-bae Lee, "The Evangelical Movement Seen in the Perspective of Liberalism" in *Ministry and Theology*, 1992, p. 105).

³¹ Modern theology is mostly concerned with relating Christian ideas to the modern outlooks in philosophy, history, the sciences and social ideas. The leading ideas of modern theology are: 1) the adoption of a critical view of the Scriptures using skepticism and 2) understanding the essence of Christianity in life rather than in an intellectual system or creed (*The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. F. L. Cross, London: Oxford University Press, 1974).

elements predisposed Koreans towards fundamentalism and also because most early Christians were converted by American missionaries with strict fundamentalist views on church polity (e.g. separation of church from politics and culture), and was then subsequently developed by a Korean theologian, Hyung-ryong Park (1897—1978), in the 1930s, and more recently by his followers in the Chong Shin Presbyterian General Assembly Theological Seminary.

Theological liberalism, on the other hand, did not emerge in the Korean church until the final phase of Japanese colonial rule over Korea (1930 to 1945). This phenomenon was caused by two incidents. While suffering various trials and persecutions under Japanese rule, the faith of the early Korean church came to a critical juncture. The 'Shinto Ceremony' was enforced on Koreans by the Japanese government as an attempt to exploit the national ideals of Korean Christians and their predisposition to obey the Pauline injunction to be obedient to the divinely appointed authorities. Briefly, Shintoism was a Japanese religion involving the worship of ancestral spirits. However, it involved more than just respect for the ancestral spirits, for it implied venerating all sorts of traditional gods, including the Japanese emperor. It was inflicted on the Koreans as a 'patriotic act' (i.e. patriotism towards Korea's colonial masters). The Korean church responded in two different ways. 'Conservative' Christians chose to maintain their Christian faith in God, some even being martyred for their faith, while others yielded to the Japanese, convincing themselves that Shintoism was merely a national ceremony rather than a religious one. This latter group and their followers eventually became the 'liberals'. So, concerning the issues of the object of worship, part of the Korean church came to identify itself as 'conservative' Christian while the other part was seen as 'liberal'.

The church also became divided in the 1930s by theological controversy over biblical criticism and fundamental doctrines of Christianity. Despite the predominance of conservatism in the 1930s, a number of Korean theologians, who had returned from studying abroad, introduced biblical criticism as a hermeneutic tool. These theologians, including Jae-jun Kim and Chang-kun Song, challenged the

existing theology of fundamentalism, criticising it as 'legalistic' and 'anti-intellectual'. They went as far as doubting the inerrancy of the Bible, which was the core and fundamental belief of the Korean church. As a result, the fundamentalist group of Presbyterian church condemned them as liberals and this eventually brought a denominational split to the conservative Presbyterian church.

Hence, both conservative and liberal theological tendencies eventually became part of the theological pulse of the Korean church. Seen from a social-political perspective, there has been a strong hostility and conflict between conservative fundamentalist and progressive social participants, as well as religious discord and a power struggle among the respective ecclesiastical authorities. Although the conservative pattern of faith still seems to be the dominant flow of the Korean church, the formulation of a progressive faith that seeks after the meaning of the Christian gospel and practical mediation (ecclesiastical renewal and social reformation), and a tendency towards reconsidering Christianity's exclusivism is becoming increasingly common in Korean Christianity today.

In *A Fundamental Practical Theology*, Don Browning has described how the first sub-movement (descriptive theology) requires cultural and religious backgrounds which have given rise to contemporary practices. Hence, it is difficult to say anything about Korean fundamentalism without knowing the features of Korean cultural and religious history that have had significant bearings on the development of fundamentalism. Also studying and understanding the social background of early Korean society, along with the faith and theological background of the early American Protestant missionaries, is essential for understanding the historico-theological background of Korean fundamentalism and its continuing manifestation. Therefore, this chapter will examine the historical development of Korean fundamentalism from its beginnings while discussing the matter of how characteristics within Korean culture and history have predisposed some Koreans towards fundamentalism, so that, in subsequent chapters, we may discuss and analyse its theological evolution in the present context, and the

likelihood that it will be able to find an ecclesiastical and theological role in this new century.

1.1. Korean Culture, Church History, and Fundamentalism

1.1.1. Korean Society Before the Beginning of Protestant Mission

1.1.1.1. Cultural-religious background of Korean fundamentalism

Racially speaking, the Korean race is considered to be a branch of the Tungus in Manchuria; more specifically, a sub-brachycephalic type of the mongoloid races.³² As a group of people living in a small peninsula off the Asian mainland, Koreans have become a very homogeneous race with a distinctive character of its own. Korean people tended to hold culture and religion in the highest regard and this had a significant influence on the development of Christianity in their later period.

As I here discuss the religious background of Korea from a historical and sociological perspective, since it is important to understand upon which criteria a society valued its religions and how these religions prepared Koreans to become involved in fundamentalist Christianity, it is useful to see religion as one realm within the much broader and more definable context of 'value orientations'.³³ Value orientations are patterned systems of symbols, beliefs, values, and practices concerned with the ultimate meaning of life, humanity, and the world by which people structure their experiences. In this conceptual framework, religion is only one kind of value orientation, although it seems to be the most common kind. As Charles Y. Glock and Rodney Stark point out, this framework permits us to deal

³² Chang-soon Kim, *The Cultural of Korea, USA: The Korean American Cultural Association, Inc.*, 1945-46., p. 33. Chang-soon Kim suggests 2454 BC as the date of the founding of the historical phase of Korean culture.

³³ Clyde Kluckhohn, "Values and Value-orientation in the Theory of Action: An Exploration in Definition and Classification," in *Toward a General Theory of Action*, ed. Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils, New York: Harper, 1962, pp. 409-411.

with such functional equivalents of religion as Confucianism or Hinduism without getting involved in useless, trifling arguments about the precise definition of religion.³⁴ In their view, value orientations can be subdivided into two parts, that of 'religious perspectives', which affirm the existence of some kind of supernatural being, world, or force, and 'humanist perspectives', which confine their explanations of ultimate reality to statements or philosophy about the material universe. However, they note that these are alternative forms of what is fundamentally the same phenomenon.³⁵ In speaking of value orientations, four distinguishable systems of belief, namely, Buddhism, Confucianism, Shamanism and Catholicism, became settled in early traditional Korean society before the beginning of Protestant missions in the period after 1880. In fact, according to the Glock-Stark's theory of value orientations, only Catholicism can be purely understood as a religious perspective among those various belief systems. However, Confucianism had, and still has, many supernatural beliefs which make its classification less certain.

In fact, since these four belief systems were widely distributed over the Korean peninsula before Protestantism was introduced, they played a major role in defining people's thinking and behaviour in one way or another. Buddhist culture was introduced into Korea in 372 AD (during the period of the Three Kingdoms) from China.³⁶ Buddhism was an offshoot of Hinduism and originated with *Sakyamuni* (born in India in 543 BC). Its basic idea is that nothing in the world is eternal and that all is impermanent, even the realm of the gods. For Buddhists, all is flowing reality (whether one is considering external things or human beings themselves), all existence means suffering, and all is a concatenation of points.³⁷ The concept of a dharma ('the teachings of a master') is regarded very highly in the Buddhist

³⁴ Charles Y. Glock and Rodney Stark, *Religion and Society in Tension*, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965, pp. 9-11.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

³⁶ Myong-gi Cho, "Korean Buddhism" in *Korea, Its Land, People and Culture of All Ages*, Seoul: Hak Won Sa, Ltd., 1960, p. 331.

religion, since dharmas are seen as invaluable tools for attaining nirvana (enlightenment), the final goal of Buddhism. By meditating on dharmas, Buddhists learned to revive their lives by focusing on reality, and overcoming all sadness from the past. Through meditation, they also became aware of their consciousness and behaviour, especially the 'three poisons'—greed, anger and ignorance.³⁸ For Buddhists, life in this world is only a stage of preparation for the next life. Thus, they believe that human beings and gods are caught in a cycle of births and deaths because the extinction of life is only a projection toward a new existence.³⁹

How did Buddhist culture influence Korean life? Buddhism was significant to early the Korean people for at least three reasons. Firstly, it provided rulers with an effective tool for unifying the country under central governments and the common people with a rich source of spiritual strength. Koreans were able to unite three kingdoms into one dynasty because the Buddhist principle of peace influenced the people to overcome regional conflicts. Secondly, its moral teachings challenged the people of the Hermit Kingdom, a kingdom which was isolated from other countries, to contemplate the value of human life, and to explore every possibility for attaining a good life on earth. Finally, it was significant in the sense that it was an international cultural exchange and, moreover, it motivated the traditional society to promote its spiritual and psychological potentiality in creative works of art.

When we examine closely the philosophical ideas of Buddhism and Christianity, certainly elements are found which could have motivated Korean people to later turn towards fundamentalist Christianity. One of Korean fundamentalism's features was living a 'holy' life with prayers, and this was reflected in Buddhism's teachings of meditation and living a 'good' life. Another aspect is their pessimistic views of this world. Buddhism teaches that life on earth is suffering, an attitude easily reinforced by dualistic and individualistic spirituality.

³⁷ W.E. Soothill, *Les Trois Religions de la Chine: Confucianisme, Bouddhisme, Taoisme*, Paris: Payot, 1946. Trans. by Jung-young Lee, p. 81.

³⁸ Hyun-gak, Choi, "Son", in *Korean Cultural Heritage Vol. 2: Thought and Religion*, Seoul: The Korea Foundation, 1996, p. 68.

Undoubtedly, fundamentalism's premillennial view of eschatology caught Korean people's attention at the promise of God's 'perfect' (no suffering) Kingdom. They differed in that Buddhism was more of a 'natural' religion (which believed in cycles of rebirth), while fundamentalist Christianity was a 'supernatural' religion (which taught that man had eternal life).

Confucianism, by contrast, came into Korea at such an early age that the date of its arrival is uncertain.⁴⁰ Prior to the introduction of the Christian gospel, Korean culture had become thoroughly saturated with Confucianism, which concentrated upon the life principles of patriotic loyalty and filial piety. The goals of Confucianism are self-cultivation and harmony or peace among people. So, achieving the inner dignity of a sage and the capacity to govern the external world as a king is often regarded as the heart of Confucianism.⁴¹ Confucianism in Korea was considered more a philosophy and a source for learning than a religion. During the period of the Yi Dynasty (1392-1910), Neo-Confucianism espoused basic ethical principles as well as a practical socio-political policy. It is noteworthy that in neo-Confucianism of the 16th century, ritual filial piety was a prescription for individual behaviour and, at the same time, a method of politics and the grounds for factional strife.⁴²

To honour filial piety, regarded as the most integral ethical principle of Confucianism, was to follow the Mandate of Heaven and thus to reach the union of Heaven and man, the ideal state of man. Filial piety was practiced through propriety and rites, to both the living and the deceased (the ancestors).⁴³ Besides observing the basic ethical rites toward ancestors and following the Mandate of Heaven,

³⁹ W. E. Soothill, op. cit., p. 97.

⁴⁰ Chong-guk Kim, "Confucianism in Korea," in *Korea, Its Land, People and Culture of All Ages*, op. cit. p. 324. Although the exact date of Confucianism's introduction into Korea is uncertain, Sa-soon Yun suggests that it is generally traced back to 200 BC (See his article "Confucian Thought and Korean Culture" in *Korean Cultural Heritage Vol. 2: Thought and Religion*, op. cit. p. 108).

⁴¹ Sa-soon Yu, "Confucian Thought and Korean Culture," in *Korean Cultural Heritage Vol. 2: Thought and Religion*, op. cit. p. 108.

⁴² Ibid., p. 108.

⁴³ Yang-sun Kim, *History of the Korean Church: Study of the Maesan Christian Culture*, Seoul: Christian Literature Co., 1971, pp. 172-176.

Confucianists also observed a religious element in the ancestor-honoring rite. Confucius taught people to "serve your parents while they are alive with decorum, bid farewell to them in funerals with decorum and remember them in memorial rites with decorum as well".⁴⁴ Although Confucius had no intention of teaching about the immortality of the soul or the doctrine of the after-life, Confucian tradition taught that when a person dies his soul ascends to heaven and his body is buried under the ground. The two become united in the ancestor-worship ceremony.⁴⁵ The ancestor-worship ceremony gradually came to be accompanied by yet another religious idea, that of reward and blessing. People held that heavenly blessing would come through faithfully practising filial piety and steadfastly performing ancestor-worship. Moreover, they believed that not only Heaven, but their deceased ancestors had the power to bless them. Thus the deceased souls stepped into the position of deities and became objects of worship.⁴⁶

Since Confucius' teachings played an important role in the life of most Korean people before Christianity arrived, one can imagine that their opening up to fundamentalist Christianity basically came through their beliefs in supernatural beings. Confucianism's concept of heaven as supernatural and its strict observance of filial piety resemble fundamentalism's understanding of a transcendent God and Christians' moral life before that God. When Protestant Christianity entered Korea in the early 1880s, the country was thirsty for new forms of religion. It may not be easy to make any judgment about the traditional religious outlook of contemporary Koreans, but what is clear about attitudes towards both Buddhism and Confucianism in the early modern age is that Koreans felt a need for social reformation. F. A. McKenzie noted that Seoul, a capital city of Korea, "did not

⁴⁴ Ki-bok Choi, "The Abolition of Ancestral Rites and Tablets by Catholicism in the Choson Dynasty and the Basic Meaning of Confucian Ancestral Rites", in *Korea Journal*, Vol. 24. No. 8, Korea National Commission for Unesco, August, 1984, p. 47.

⁴⁵ Ki-bok Choi, *A Study on the Confucian Ceremony of Mourning*, Seoul: Sung Kyun Kwan University, 1979, pp. 128f.

⁴⁶ Bong-bae Park, "Christianity and Ancestor Worship" (Korean) in Harold Hong et al (ed.), *Church and Mission in Korea*, C.L.S.K, 1963, pp. 201f.

contain a single temple where religious worship was carried on".⁴⁷ This was because, by the time the Christian missionaries arrived in Korea, Buddhism had been discredited by the treachery of some Japanese Buddhists during the great Japanese invasion in 1592, and no Buddhist priest or temple was allowed inside the city of Seoul.⁴⁸ Moreover, although Confucian philosophy was widely applied in society as a theory for the conduct of life, its religious ceremonies were held only on special occasions. This is why Christianity was very fortunate in its representatives. Protestant missionaries, particularly, fundamentalists, were ready to set their hands to anything, to plan and build houses and churches, and to open schools. Being treated unfairly by Confucianism's contradictions between theory and practice found in contemporary society (this will be discussed in the following section), Koreans' attraction towards fundamentalist Christianity was almost immediate, because the missionaries put into practice their biblical teachings. While Buddhism and Confucianism were unable to meet the needs of the people (such as human rights) in the midst of tragic social realities, fundamentalist Christianity convinced many Koreans that nothing in this world is 'good' and hence motivated them to aspire to a new kingdom which would be established by Christ's second coming. Therefore, two major features of fundamentalism (morality and premillennialism) were exhibited by the early American missionaries through their work of transforming Korean society to prepare for the future Kingdom of God.

The Korean Shamanistic value orientation underlies those value orientations which came later, Confucianism and Buddhism. It is not easy to characterise Korean indigenous religion in a brief statement, but when one carefully examines archeological, linguistic and folkloric data, it is clear that Shamanism, handed down from ancient times, constitutes the fundamental religious system of Korea, although it currently has insufficient theoretical doctrines or philosophies to support a

⁴⁷ F. A. McKenzie, *The Tragedy of Korea*, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1908, pp. 28-29.

⁴⁸ F. A. McKenzie, *Korea's Fight for Freedom*, New York: AMS Press, 1920, pp. 206-207.

separate existence.⁴⁹ Hence, it is safer to say, then, that Shamanism itself is not substantially a religious belief, but that it only provides a religious foundation for belief with its world view and symbolism.

The practices of Shamanism among the people of the Yi Dynasty were centred around sacrifices offered to appease spirits and to obtain favours from them, divination to see the future, and various magical and proto-scientific procedures to gain benefits or to cast out evil. The early Koreans had a high god, called *Hanulnim* (Heaven), who had at least some anthropomorphic and personal character.⁵⁰ Shamanism, in its various manifestations, tended to be a religion of self-interest. Only when people faced crises in their lives did they desperately consult the Shamans. This may explain the ease with which early Koreans managed to practice, and even to believe in, several belief systems at one time with little awareness of conflict or contradiction, in that Buddhist monks and Confucian leaders were seen as Shamans for these religions.

There are a few factors in Shamanism which might have predisposed Koreans towards fundamentalist Christianity. For instance, it would be relatively easy for a convert from Shamanism to transmute his idea of spirits into an idea of God, Christ, and the Holy Spirit; to change his concept of sacrifices into one of sacraments; and to replace his image of shamans with one of that of church ministers. Also, fundamentalist missionaries' enthusiasm for Bible teaching and Bible conferences may have attracted Korean people who participated in Shamanistic rites. Hence, it is through Korean people's mentality, which were formed within the teachings of conventional religions, that Korean people have had relatively few obstacles to accept and understand fundamentalist Christianity. This leads us to understand that

⁴⁹ Sun-myung Hwang, "The Origins of Korean Religious Beliefs" in *Korean Cultural Heritage Vol. 2: Thought and Religion*, op. cit. pp. 21-22, 27. L. George Paik views Shamanism as an ancient form of religious belief comprising vast numbers of gods, demons, and the legacy of centuries of nature worship. He further notes that Shamanism cannot be adequately described, for it is "formless, documentless, and without system" (L. George Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea 1832-1910*, Pyongyang: Union Christian College Press, 1927, p. 20).

⁵⁰ Charles Allen Clark, *Religions of Old Korea*, Seoul: Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1961, pp. 195-197.

the three factors, the power of the gospel itself, Korea's religious circumstances and the Korean mindset, may all have contributed to the development of Christian fundamentalism in Korea.

One thing not to be overlooked, however, is that Korean traditional beliefs were human inventions which sought supernatural intervention by transcendent beings in their troubled lives. Korean people believed that they could, at least to some extent, communicate with these supernatural beings by following the ways and teachings of the sages and saints. This further inspired them to look for forms of religion which promised salvation, or eternal life. Hence, what made it 'easy' for Korean people of another faith to convert to Christianity was their strong spiritual and psychological desire to meet politico-economical expectations and hopes through new ideas or forms of faith, since they had not been realised by their existing beliefs.

The earliest significant influence that Catholicism had on Korea was through Catholic literature obtained from Peking in the seventeenth century.⁵¹ Official Jesuit missionary work in Korea, however, began after 1795, when a Chinese priest, Chou Moon-mo, was sent to Korea by a Portuguese Bishop, Mgr. Alexander de Gouvea (1571-1808), who was stationed in Peking.⁵² For six years, Chou was able to live in a hiding-place provided by early converts. From here, he was able to communicate Catholic teachings, primarily in written form, to a group of Korean people (mostly consisting of housewives and children). As a result of dedicated work by Catholic priests, such as Chou, by 1800 there were already 10,000 adherents to the Catholic faith in Korea.⁵³ The Catholic Bishop in Peking sent more priests to Korea in 1811, 1815, and 1824. On September 1 1828, Pope Leo XII instructed the *Missions Étrangères de Paris* (Foreign Mission Society of Paris) to begin its mission work in

⁵¹ Mun-gun Yi, "Christianity in Korea," in *Korea, Its Land and Culture of All Ages*, op. cit. p. 337. See also Taik-poo Chun, *The History of Church Development in Korea*, Seoul: The Christian Literature Society, 1987, pp. 17-18.

⁵² Mun-gun Yi, *Korea, Its Land, People and Culture of All Ages*, op. cit. p. 338.

⁵³ Suk-woo, Choi, "Catholicism Yesterday and Today", in *Korea Journal*, Vol. 24. No. 8, op. cit., 1984, p. 6.

Korea.⁵⁴ Such missionary work enhanced the faith of Korean believers. Several young Korean converts were helped to travel abroad to further their education. As a result, Tae-gun Kim was ordained to the priesthood in 1845, and Yang-op Choe became the second Korean priest in 1849.⁵⁵

However, it was not easy to carry out missionary work in Korea, which was strongly dedicated to its closed-door policy. It is not too much to say that the history of Catholicism was written in the blood of martyrs. During political upheavals and massacres which peaked in 1801, 1839, 1846 and 1866, Chou himself and more than 8,000 Catholic believers were executed.⁵⁶ Korean Catholics suffered persecution at the hands of the conservative Confucian government until 1872. The major reasons for the persecution of Catholicism are found in the conservative Confucian government's political and ideological disagreement with Catholicism.⁵⁷ However, Korea's destiny was changed to the advantage of Catholicism by international political forces. The Yi Dynasty eventually became aware that isolationism was impossible. In 1872, *Taewon's* (emperor *Kojong's* father) power was finally handed over to Queen Min and the 'closed door' policy gradually yielded to an 'open door'. The emperor, *Kojong*, initiated a policy of freedom for religion and ended the long era of Catholic persecution. Catholicism, then, caught the people's attention and the numbers of members and churches both increased rapidly.

What needs to be considered in regard to Catholicism is that both Catholic missionaries' and enlightened Korean Confucius scholars' continuous mission work (even in times of persecution) and the social enlightenment movement prepared the ground for Protestant missionaries' mission work. Although passivity and obedience to authority were already 'virtues' highly valued in Confucianism, they

⁵⁴ Mun-gun Yi, op. cit., p. 338.

⁵⁵ Suck-woo Choi, "Catholicism" in *Korean Cultural Heritage Vol 2.: Thought and Religion*, op. cit. p. 240.

⁵⁶ Yung-jae Kim, *A History of the Korean Church*, Seoul: The Korea Society for Reformed Faith and Action, 1992, p. 51.

⁵⁷ This will be discussed extensively in the next section.

were reinforced by an almost identical emphasis in Catholicism. Korean Catholics have largely carried over, from their Confucian and monarchical tradition, a highly authoritarian view of God. Catholicism's teachings of God as untouchable and unreachable implanted in Korean believers' minds the idea that God hardly ever participates in human culture. In this respect, God is seen as a 'controller' rather than a 'partner' in human life. It was almost the same for Shamanism and Buddhism. They de-emphasised humans' ability to deal directly with the world, and, whatever underlying differences there were in their ideas of God, such an attitude was clearly reflected in the old prayerbook which shaped the spirituality of contemporary Korean Catholics. In the traditional religions, various gods and spirits played the major roles in dealing with nature. Similarly, in Catholicism, the Christian God was nature's prime mover. In all three religions, man's potential for developing and finalising creation was almost wholly ignored. Also, the 'blessing' mentality, which was displayed in traditional rituals, conflicted with Catholicism's emphasis on petition through prayer. However, what is different in their views of blessing is the 'other-worldly' characteristics of Catholicism compared with the 'this-worldly' materialism of Confucianism and Shamanism. It is, therefore, questionable how the 'other-worldliness' of Catholicism (which later contributed to the development of fundamentalism) could hold up against the materialist and worldly Korean mind-set which had been shaped by the value orientations of earlier beliefs.

1.1.1.2. Socio-political background of Korean fundamentalism

Korea's encounter with Protestantism was unique in the sense that it was not a consequence of imperialist force, but came through officially sanctioned evangelism experienced at the time of the Korean Enlightenment. One needs to question, then, how Koreans became involved in Protestant Christianity in the midst of Korea's traditional cultural and religious atmosphere. What were the social and political motivations that predisposed some Koreans towards Protestant Christianity? Of

course, similarities between the traditional religions and Christianity enhanced conversion but, more significantly, conversion was due to Confucianism's deficiencies which had dominated the minds of Korean people.

In the course of time, after *Choson* (another name for the Yi Dynasty) had been exposed to the revolutionary challenges of Western ideas and scientific discoveries, scholars had come to acknowledge that the greatest power of civilisation came from the West. This 'power' of Western civilisation essentially had radically different premises to those of the East. Its unique world view, founded upon the presumption of connections between nature and mind, and between history and revelation, was different to the existing thoughts of Confucianism. Korean scholars' special concern for this 'power' of Western civilisation had progressed in parallel with the period through which *Choson* Confucianism was passing.

Apart from traditional learning (such as philosophy and culture), Korean society tended to concentrate on advanced practical knowledge in the 16th century and on the new world-view and culture of the West in the 17th and 18th centuries. The best example of such an advanced knowledge is *Silhak* (the Practical Learning). Practitioners of *Silhak* were motivated by awareness of the self, which went beyond mere personal reflection or phenomenological realisation. Independent, pragmatic ideas, born of new self-awareness and the exploration and the development of those ideas had substantial significance for the emerging *Silhak* movement.⁵⁸ The period from the middle of the 18th century to the middle of the 19th century was known as the 'golden age', in which practical learning blossomed among the intellectuals and reformers in Korea and resulted in the Enlightenment.⁵⁹

It is noteworthy that the most prominent leaders of the golden age were Catholic practical learners. Practical learning was achieved mostly by those leaders who responded to society's need of advanced practical knowledge that could be applied to the lives of the common people, largely in contrast to the existing

⁵⁸ Sung-bong Park, "The Spiritual Potential of the Korean People" in *Korean Cultural Heritage V. 2: Thought and Religion*, op. cit., p. 18.

political ideology. Two distinguished scholars of this age were Ik Yi (1681-1763) and Yak-yong Chung (1762-1836). Yi's work dedicated to Western knowledge is generally divided into two parts: one dealing with science and the other philosophy and religion.⁶⁰ As regards science, Yi became acquainted with many Western scientific documents, which enabled him to grasp a broad range of knowledge in astronomy, geography, engineering, and hydraulics. However, considering philosophy and religion, Yi was not so delighted with the West's teachings about worldly aspects and faith, which he thought were rather similar to the teachings of Buddhism. The books he read on philosophy, ethics and religion, included "Divine Providence", "Seven Overcomings", "The Law of God Which Brings People Together", and etc.⁶¹ Through these books, Yi found similarities between the approaches of Catholicism and Confucianism to understanding of the Heavenly God. Yi also showed great interest from a scholarly point of view in the doctrines of the virgin birth, and the ministry, death and resurrection of Christ.⁶² His analysis of Christianity and traditional religions was based on Western knowledge, in addition to the ecclesiastical doctrines of Catholicism. His work on the comparative studies of religions challenged the scholars of his day to bring their learning to bear upon the tragic reality of their own society.

Yak-yong Chung's (1762-1836) interest in Western ideas arose at a time of social crisis in which the political system was in chaos, suffering from factional strife, extreme economic distress, and when scholarly thoughts were developing in a vacuum. His Western ideas were seen as a way out from this miserable reality and as a means to develop practical uses of knowledge. Focusing on the renewal of Confucianism (as had other practical learners of earlier times), Chung purposely avoided excessive philosophical disputation and worthless academic discussions, in order to restore *Silhak's* harmony of 'actual proof', 'actual theory', 'practical use',

⁵⁹ Taik-poo Chun, *The History of Church Development in Korea*, op. cit., p. 28.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 30.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 31.

and 'practical mind'.⁶³ He believed that only when Confucianism became able to break away from its enslavement to scholarly dogmatism and to be renewed through the enlightened spirit of democracy, would society be able to be 'reborn'. It was Chung's purpose to explore the true theory of Confucianism, in the light of the teachings of the Christian Scriptures, in order to alleviate the critical juncture faced by Korean society.

Basically, these practical learners with a Catholic background set out *Silhak* to redress the weakness of Confucianism and to repudiate the unreasonable teachings of Buddhism. Understanding the motivation and the rise of practical learning in the light of their contemporary social atmosphere is necessary. The Yi Dynasty had embraced Confucianism as a national religion, and governed the nation on the basis of its hierarchic system which was derived from the five cardinal relations (*o-ryun*).⁶⁴ In this system, Korean society had been structured into three basic classes: *Yangban* (the high class which consisted of aristocrats and noble people), *Sangmin* (the middle class which composed mostly of merchants), and *Chonmin* (the lower class which consisted of peasants and servants). As could be seen in those other countries that adopted this system of classification of people, Korea was no exception in finding strong tensions between the classes. The lower class people, mostly born into that condition, were compelled to serve and obey their masters dutifully. The vertical type of human relationship involved often led the wealthy to behave unjustly toward the poor. The consciousness of the lower class became incisive when they considered the clash between their growing aspirations for

⁶² Kyung-bae Min, *A History of Korean Christian Church*, Seoul: The Christian Literature Society, 1972, p. 58.

⁶³ Taik-poo Chun, *The History of Church Development in Korea*, op. cit., pp. 31-32.

⁶⁴ Hierarchy and authority are emphasized in the five cardinal relations (*o-ryun*), which are generally regarded as the heart of Confucianism. Four of the five are vertical and can be simplified to more primordial relations between "superior" and "inferior." The king, the father, the husband, and the elder are the "superior" side, in contrast to the corresponding, "inferior", subject, son, wife, and the young. Duty is stressed and, in practice if not in theory, is often reduced to a unilateral duty of unquestioning submission and conformity on the part of the inferior towards the superior. The relations are governed by inherited status, not by personal achievement. A person is determined

effective liberty and justice, and the existing social order, which merely pretended to recognise their human dignity. In reality, however, the social order ignored lower class' aspirations and attempted to retain upper class' hegemony. Such critical tension between the social classes and an immoral political ideology abusing the people of the lower class, gradually motivated the enlightened scholars of the day to rediscover the meaning of human dignity and the value of life in the perspective of a developing exposure to Christianity.

Korean society around 1880, however, suffered tension between those who supported the Enlightenment and those who remained traditionalists. The traditionalists, on the one hand, opposed the idea of the Enlightenment, seeing it as a barbarian religion. They also considered Christianity to be a dangerous religion, which could bring damage to the existing order of society and fine customs that were peculiar to Korea.⁶⁵ Being convinced that only Confucianism was orthodox, and that only Confucius-based systems of government and ethics should be acknowledged, they advocated the necessity of guarding rigorously against the Christianization of Korea. This anti-Christianity movement continued even after Protestantism entered the country, and that opposition should be primarily understood as an attempt by conservative nationalists to overcome the national crisis through their own indigenous resources.

Those who were involved in the Enlightenment movement, on the other hand, divided into two. The first group was a moderate party which tended to maintain traditional thought, while adopting Western technology. They denied the teachings of Christianity, and welcomed only the technology associated with Western

inferior or superior to certain other people by his or her birth, and nothing can change that biological fact or excuse him or her from conforming to the appropriate behaviour patterns.

⁶⁵ William E. Griffis, *Corea, The Hermit Nation*, London: Harper & Brothers, 1905, p. 357. Being convinced of political danger stemming from Christianity, the king of Korea reaffirmed his strict adherence to the Confucian orthodoxy and declared that Christianity is "utter blasphemy against Heaven". He charged Christianity with heresy, partly for religious reasons, such as "undermining all feelings of filial piety, abolishing sacrifice to ancestors, and burning the memorial tablets", but mostly for political reasons; the king felt that Christian converts were rebels against their princes (L. George Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea: 1832-1910*, op. cit., p. 35).

industrialisation. However, their 'contradictory' and 'unreasonable' views were critically censured by the more radical group.⁶⁶ It was non-sense that the moderates expected fruit (Western technology) while ignoring the root (Christianity). Transformation of society necessitates suffering and the sacrifice of old culture and ideas, in order to move on to new way of life.

Unlike the moderate party, the radical reformers were drastic in their proposed course of action. Their political goal was to abolish the aristocratic bureaucracy, and to establish a modern nation state. By 'nation state' they meant a new system of government that could be run by anyone, regardless of social background and position. Significantly, majority of these reformers were either Catholics or those who were familiar with Catholic teachings. Such a progressive spirit among reformers actively amended the former government policies and preferred an open door policy towards Western Christian culture. Their preference for Christianity, which was motivated by a desire to strengthen the nation along the lines of the mighty European countries, eventually led Protestant missionaries to take root in Korean society for the next phase of the process.

So far, we have seen that the Korean people saw Christianity as necessary for the renewal of society. While the traditional religions had influenced Koreans to want certain moral teachings from any new religion, it was the practical deficiencies that Koreans found in their traditional beliefs that motivated them to turn to Christianity. With consideration of the role of supernatural faiths and the desperate condition of society, it seems reasonable to suppose that Korean people initially turned to Protestant Christianity (which was more effectively presented than Catholicism in terms of social innovation) to seek consolation and refuge from their earthly tensions. Significantly, the form of Protestantism which Koreans first encountered was conservative fundamentalism of the late 19th century kind. It is

⁶⁶ These words were spoken by Byung-hun Choi, the pastor of Chung Dong Methodist Church, the very first Methodist church established in 1887. (Quoted from Gil-sup Song, *History of Theological Thought in Korea*, op. cit., pp. 16-17. Originally taken from Choi's book written on December 22, 1903).

worthwhile asking why the Korean churches seem to be more disposed to fundamentalism than the rest of the world's churches. One may speculate whether it has something to do with twentieth-century Korean history, which included the Japanese occupation (1910 to 1945), support from the West (especially the US) in the 1950s and Cold War politics. There is no significant historical document which attributes the growth of Korean fundamentalism to either western support in the 1950s or to Cold War politics. Although these questions cannot be addressed in this thesis, they are worthy of further investigation. However, a more convincing historical fact is that the early foreign missionaries' efforts and the Japanese occupation had disposed Koreans towards fundamentalism. The missionaries' methods played a considerable role in shaping the Korean fundamentalist church. The Korean church identified itself more with fundamentalism during the Japanese occupation. Hence in the next few sections, I shall focus on Protestant missionary work, the initial outlook of the early Korean church, and the Korean church under the Japanese occupation.

1.1.2. Protestant Missionary Work in Korea

Historical documents record that Protestantism was first introduced to Korea by a Dutchman, named John J. Weltevree in 1627.⁶⁷ The next contacts following Weltevree were the German missionary, Karl F. A. Gutzlaff (1803-1851) and the British missionary Robert Jermain Thomas (1840-1866). These missionaries' work was rather brief and local. Records about the converts supposedly made by Weltevree are unclear and Gutzlaff's short stay in Korea left no significant evangelical work. Moreover, Thomas' passion for evangelism was tragically ended by his execution which took place on the river bank when his vessel made landfall near the city of Pyung Yang.

⁶⁷ Hong-gyu Pyon, *Korea, Its Land, People and Culture of All Ages*, Seoul: Jak Won Sa, LTD., 1960, p. 340.

A significant Protestant missionary work was started by Alexander Williamson, John Ross, and John MacIntyre, three missionaries from Scotland. They spent enormous time on personal evangelism and Bible translation during their stays in China and Manchuria.⁶⁸ Koreans might not have learned of Christianity in depth without their work in translating the Bible. When we consider that the Bible became the prominent source upon which Korean fundamentalism of the later period based its so-called 'five-point doctrine', the first Bible translation work was the most fruitful outcome of these missionaries' work. Spending some time in a small village near by *Ap-rok-kang*, the river which formed the border between Korea and Manchuria, they also became involved in teaching the Bible. As a result of this work, six Korean men were baptised, and they eventually became members of the missionaries' Bible translation group. Thanks to their commitment to Bible translation, this group published both Luke's and John's gospels in 1882, and the rest of the New Testament books in 1887. The New Testament was soon distributed to Koreans in Manchuria and in Korea.

Official Protestant missionary work commenced in Korea in 1884 and 1885 with the first Methodist missionaries from the United States, Henry G. Appenzeller and W. M. Scranton, and with Presbyterian missionaries (from the "Presbyterian Church in the United States of America" or "PCUSA"), Horace G. Underwood and Horace N. Allen.⁶⁹ With their Western educational background and medical knowledge these missionaries had an enormous impact upon the royal family and on other parts of Korean society. The method employed by Appenzeller, Allen and

⁶⁸ Alexander Williamson, *Journeys in North China, Manchuria, and Eastern Mongolia; with Some Account of Corea Vol. 2*, London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1870, pp. 131, 134.

⁶⁹ Yong-je Han, *100 Years of Korean Churches' Growth*, Seoul: The Christian Literature Press, 1986, p. 45. When they first arrived in Korea, Underwood was 26 years old, Appenzeller 27, Allen 27, and Scranton 29 (See Gil-sop Song, *History of Theological Thought in Korea*, op. cit., p. 35). With their arrival in Korea setting a precedent, other foreign mission agencies sent missionaries to Korea: John Heron, Annie Ellers, D. L. Gifford from the Northern Presbyterian Church in the US were followed by Underwood and J. Henry Davies from Australia in 1889, C. J. Corfe from the Church of England in 1890, W. D. Reynolds and L. Davies from the Southern Presbyterian Church in the US in 1892, and W. R. Foote and Robert Grierson from Canada's Presbyterian Church in 1898 (Yong-je Han, op. cit., p. 46).

Scranton was to approach Korean society by means of education and medicine. They thought that this approach was their priority and represented a crucial response to contemporary Korean society, which required a special contact point through which the Korean people would have a chance to appropriate Protestant Christianity.

Underwood's missionary work commenced in 1886 with street evangelism and teaching classes at the Home and School established for orphan children. Underwood's active role as a missionary and teacher enabled him to communicate well with young people who wished to learn English and the Christian gospel. With his excellent language skills Underwood preached his sermons in the vernacular and published some simple Christian tracts through the Korean Religious Tract Society (which was started in 1889 with financial aid from the Tract Society of Toronto, the American Tract Society, and the Religious Tract Society of London).⁷⁰ As a result of his engagement in activities, such as translating the New Testament, giving Sunday School lessons and leading prayer-meetings, and enthusiastic contact with the common people, the church named Sae Mun An was founded on September 27 1887.⁷¹ Underwood is a notable missionary in the history of Korean fundamentalism. This is not only because he was the first official missionary in Korea, but also because he was the founder of the Korean Presbyterian church: the Presbyterian denomination later became the foundation stone of Korean fundamentalism. As has been briefly examined above and will be discussed further in the next chapter, Underwood's enthusiastic Bible teaching and evangelism were relatively thorough-going and carried out on a regular basis. His particular enthusiasms were transmitted to Korean fundamentalism.

⁷⁰ Lillias H. Underwood, *Underwood of Korea*, Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1983 (This book was first published in 1918), p. 46.

⁷¹ Taik-poo Chun, op. cit., p. 110. Significantly, the first Protestant house church was started by the two Seo brothers who had been converted and baptised by John Ross and John MacIntyre while visiting Manchuria. It seems they had started a Protestant 'congregational (lay people-based) church' with thirteen converts some time in 1884 (John Ross, *The Christian Dawn in Korea*, TMRW, 1890(3), pp. 241-248). However, the church started by Underwood was organised more in a more formal fashion than Seo's with a firm Presbyterian theological background.

Sae Mun An Presbyterian Church grew fast and reached its peak membership of 401 by 1901.⁷² There were thirty-seven meetings each week in seventeen different places which demonstrated the church members' high esteem for Christianity. Class leaders and Sunday School staff members held Bible study sessions and conferences at Underwood's home once a week to promote their own spiritual vitality. Underwood's mission, over all, with its emphasis on literacy, education, and salvation, became one of the channels of hope and opportunity for the Korean people, especially the lower classes, which were the main target of his evangelistic effort. It should not be overlooked that the rapid growth of this church was helped by the Korean peoples' fondness for social gatherings. It should be remembered that they had long been caught in the discrepancy between Confucianism's teachings and practice and so were ready for a new religion which challenged this paradox. In regard to the content of the Bible, Korean people opened themselves not only to the moral lessons of the Bible, but also to its historical background. Korea, a small nation in the Far East, was surrounded by hostile neighbours and had experienced many miseries, just as had happened to Israel, a small nation in the Near East. In the biblical account of God's dramatic deliverance of His people from their enemies, both spiritually and physically, Koreans saw that Christianity was more reasonable and realistic than their earlier traditions.

In the meantime, Appenzeller's mission work advanced primarily through education. This is what distinguishes his mission work from that of Underwood. Appenzeller started his teaching in 1885 with a small number of students, and in 1886, his school received an official authorisation from the government to educate the rising generation.⁷³ The government acknowledged the effective work of the school by placing its most able students in official posts after they graduated. It must be noted that Appenzeller's educational effort was primarily concerned with the creation of a Christian atmosphere, the establishment and development of broad

⁷² Lillias H. Underwood, *Underwood of Korea*, op. cit., p. 219.

⁷³ L. George Paik, op. cit., p. 129.

liberal education, and a patriotic motivation amongst the students.⁷⁴ From his educational efforts, we can grasp how much passion he had to share with Koreans—not only his Western knowledge but also his Christian faith. His understanding of education was always based on Christian principles. Language, science, and mathematics were, therefore, to be understood and interpreted in the light of the Supreme Being and His particular ways of communicating with human beings and nature. He could find no better ways to challenge the intellectuals of the society in order to help them acknowledge God's existence and His unconditional love for the world. The following is an extract from a letter written by Appenzeller to his Drew friend, A. M. Viven, on 14 February 1887: "Viven, I have the great honor of founding the first Christian school (Protestant of course) in Korea. I want it to be above everything else deeply spiritual. I want the students who come here to get converted and, as Bro[ther]. Parcells once said, I don't want all 'still births'. For this mighty saving power I pray daily and I am glad you are helping me".⁷⁵

In co-operation with his friends, F. Ohlinger and G. H. Jones, Appenzeller performed the first worship service for the student body in 1888 in the school chapel.⁷⁶ Appenzeller instituted mandatory attendance at chapel service, including Sunday worship services in 1890: "All students are compelled to attend religious services on Sabbath and during the week".⁷⁷ Appenzeller's zeal for evangelical work was marked by the establishment of Bethel chapel on October 9 1887. It later became Chong Dong Methodist Church. This was the beginning of the official communal meeting of the Methodist congregation, and Appenzeller's first sermon, in Korean, on 25 December 1887 impressed his converts.⁷⁸

Appenzeller is noteworthy for his passion to keep Koreans following his theology. Particularly influenced by the American evangelical atmosphere of the

⁷⁴ Daniel M. Davies, *The Life and Thought of Henry Gerhard Appenzeller (1858-1902)*, Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1988, p. 207.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 208.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 210-211

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 292-293.

time, Appenzeller emphasised the transcendent aspects of the divine being and the importance of conversion from 'old' religion to 'new' faith. This, all together, provided the Korean church with an impetus towards the fundamentalist atmosphere of the 1930s.

Following the arrival of these missionaries, Korean society gradually developed in every aspect, especially under the impact of Western technology. As society was transformed, missionary work was spurred on and reached its peak with the translation of the whole Bible,⁷⁹ the compilation of a hymn book, and the publication of many Christian tracts and other literature by The Korean Religious Tract Society organised in 1890.⁸⁰ As well as publication work, missionaries also organised independent young people's mission movements, such as 'Christian Endeavour' formed by Presbyterian missionaries, the 'Epworth League' formed by Methodist missionaries, and 'YMCA' and 'YWCA'. As highly visible forms of active Christianity such movements arose in connection with the urge to achieve the abolition of feudalism, and the creation of a spirit of national independence, enlightenment, and modernisation along Western lines. The activities maintained by Presbyterian Christians centred around daily discourse, Bible study, evangelism, and occasional seminars, in parallel with practical training such as printing, woodworking, ironworking, filming, and the teaching and learning of foreign languages. On the other hand, Methodist Christians based their ultimate objective of the mission upon the realisation of the divine purpose, by motivating believers to find enthusiasm in evangelism, in social reformation, and in practising the example of the universal love of Jesus in their society.

We have examined how the early missionaries mingled with Koreans and how they planted churches which were basically rooted in contemporary American

⁷⁹ Due to the translation of the New Testament made by John Ross and his co-workers, which used an over complex dialect, Underwood and Appenzeller went on to revise the New Testament translation, and eventually completed the translation of both the Old and New Testament in 1911, joining the Jewish translator, A. A. Pieters, American missionary J. S. Gale and several enthusiastic Korean translators (W. D. Reynolds, "Translation of the Scriptures into Korean" in *Korea Review*, Vol. 6, 1906, p. 172).

evangelicalism. It is natural that Koreans would have followed their missionary leaders' theological assertions and methods, since Koreans were the recipient of the gospel brought by the missionaries. No one in Korea had better knowledge of Christian doctrines than the missionaries had. It is fair to say, thus, that conservative missionaries, as founders of the Korean churches, had a great impact upon Korean Christians, by emphasising and maintaining American evangelicalism of the nineteenth century. It is on these conservative theological grounds that Korean fundamentalism later emerged in the 1930s as a militant defender of American evangelicalism. We will see in the next section the form of the early Korean churches under the guidance of American conservative missionaries, and how the conservative evangelical theology of the missionaries functioned in shaping the early Korean church.

1.1.3. The Structure of the Early Korean Church as Created by Foreign Missionaries

Two general social strata that showed an interest in the Christian gospel when Protestantism was first introduced to the Korean people were, on the one hand, the group of intellectuals who aspired to transform the structure of political and social consciousness and, on the other hand, the lower classes consisting of peasants, industrial workers and women.⁸¹ Indisputably, the faction which led the infant Korean church was composed of the latter group of people, who had taken the conservative-structured faith very much to heart.

Sociologically, the lower classes in Korea were normally conservatives who held 'old' (passive) world-views. Their poor educational background and relatively simple way of thinking allowed the subject matter of their faith to be assimilated easily. In other words, the Korean people of the time had, in general, no accurate way of judging which parts of Western thought, or more precisely, of Western

⁸⁰ Young-jae Kim, op. cit. pp. 79-80. See also *The Korean Repository*, Vol. 2, 1895, p. 75.

Protestantism, were applicable to the Korean context. Thus, when the literalist character of the theology and practice of the early missionaries began to influence the Korean people and their churches, the political and social consciousness of the new Korea also became conservative and strict, albeit in a slightly different manner from the conservatism of traditional Korean society. The theological systems and dogmas of the Korean church were shaped by strict conservatism through a large group of conservative ecclesiastical leaders, whose biblical approach was entirely dogmatic and detached from practical Christian life.

The Christian church has a social and individual significance, which should not be confined to any one particular cultural setting, or go beyond the limitations of its nature (such as denying God's revelation contained in the Bible). The church is understood as a community in which people express their faith while retaining their personalities, and in which they are prepared to enable other people to become related to God in the larger arena in which the church's ministry occurs. So the church is the most important place in which believers can learn about their identities and the meaning of their lives. Hence the ministry of the church refers to relationships: people with God, people with people, and church with society. In this respect the removal of any aspect of these relationships can cause serious theological conflict. This conclusion, drawn from the nature of Christianity, is reinforced by the observations of both believers and non-believers concerning moral life. Within this light, the structure of the early Korean church will be examined, together with its positive and negative aspects.

The most significant mission policy, which missionaries adopted for the Korean church, was The Nevius Mission Methods:⁸²

⁸¹ Won-kyu Lee, "The Problems of Overcoming Bipolarity" in *Christian Thought*, Seoul, July 1989, p. 183.

⁸² C. A. Clark, *The Korean Church and the Nevius Methods*, New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1930, pp. 33-34. Won Kang says that the Nevius Methods are only significant in the sense that they were adopted to make the Korean people aware of their self-identity. He goes on to say that the three major principles (self-support, self-government, self-propagation) are basically coherent with individualism in a bourgeois society and, therefore, they did not seem suitable for the Korean social context of the early 20th century. Since the Nevius Methods were provided to produce a self-oriented

- 1) Personal evangelism by the missionary using extensive itinerancy
- 2) Self-propagation. Every believer should be both a teacher of someone else and a learner from someone more advanced. Every individual and group should seek to extend their work according to this pattern
- 3) Self-government. Every group should function under chosen unpaid leaders; circuits should be under their own paid helpers, who in turn should answer to the appointed pastors
- 4) Self-support. All church buildings should be provided by the believers; each group, as soon as founded, should begin to make contributions towards the salary of the circuit helpers
- 5) Systematic Bible Study for every believer under the local group leader and circuit helper
- 6) Strict discipline using biblical penalties
- 7) Cooperation and union with other bodies, or at least territorial division (comity)
- 8) Non-interference in lawsuits or related matters
- 9) General helpfulness, where possible, in the economic life of the nation.

The Nevius Methods need to be interpreted in the light of both external and internal purposes, since these principles became the foundations for the development of Korean fundamentalism. The external purpose of the Nevius Methods was to establish an indigenous church; a church that could stand alone, independent of external financial or administrative support. These principles were seen as appropriate to any country where mission activity was being undertaken. The basic concept was that the church should be planted and developed with reference to its own indigenous circumstances. Surprisingly, however, there seemed to be a

type of church, on the premise of self-government and self-support, it proved difficult to build up solidarity between churches in terms of financial support. As time went on, such a tendency resulted in many churches moving toward ego-centrism and individualism, and finally led them to emphasise such themes as offertory, devotion, and financial support from their members or other wealthy people in order to maintain their work (Won-dong Kang, "Reproduction of the Dominant Ideology of the Korean Church" in *Theology of Hot Criticism*, Seoul: Han Wool Press, 1992, pp. 243-244). Chung-bae Lee claims that while the Nevius Methods have externally contributed to the growth of the church, internally, the Nevius Method was a by-product of the missionaries' original intentions to keep the Korean Christian faith and theology aligned with evangelical or Puritan conservatism. In other words, the missionaries demanded that Korean Christians follow only their distinctive theology and traditions and, therefore, from the beginnings of their work rejected other forms or interpretations of theology. As a result, although those principles emphasised the external independence of the Korean church, they resulted in the Korean church being subordinate to the American Christian heritage (Chung-bae Lee, "The Korean Protestant Theology and Reality of Its

fundamental contradiction between the intentions of this mission policy and the practical effects of the missionaries upon the Korean church. Since missionaries were deeply involved in many aspects of the Korean church, such as the teaching of moral beliefs and theological doctrines, indigenisation meant practically nothing other than independence from external financial support. Gil-sop Song, a prominent Korean theologian, noted the absurdity of such a mission policy:

It is quite incomprehensible that the missionaries who led the Korean church, were keen for independence from financial support, but never actually mentioned a single word about the independence and freedom of theological thoughts, this latter being far more important. Rather, they emphasised independence from external financial support over the independence of internal theological thoughts, and imposed subordination to a heritage of American theological thoughts. This, of course, meant independence outwardly, but subordination inwardly.⁸³

If the policy were to have been applied effectively, then the theological forms and patterns of the Korean church would have been drawn from its own theological context rather than from the American cultural-theological perspective. This argument becomes even more critical when one discovers the degree of subordination suggested in the principles of theological education confirmed by the Northern Presbyterian missionaries in 1896. The principles were as follows: firstly, theological students must be filled with the Holy Spirit; secondly, they must be taught the fundamental facts and creeds of Christianity; thirdly, they must be trained, as becomes a strong soldier of Christ, to overcome any kind of difficulty. Finally, in terms of their intellectual attainment, ministers in training needed to be educated to a higher level than lay people, but to a level less than that of missionaries.⁸⁴

How should we interpret this fourth principle, that “ministers in training needed to be educated to a higher level than lay people, but to a level less than that of missionaries”? Did it imply that Korean ministers were literally unable to exceed

Faith” in *Theology and the World*, V. 25, Seoul: The Methodist Theological Seminary, 1992, pp. 184-195).

⁸³ Gil-sop Song, op. cit., p. 74.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 75.

the intellectual level of the missionaries, or did it mean that they were to be wholly subservient to missionaries? If neither of these is true, then, did the missionaries believe that a force acting beyond the limits of their theological intellect might cause future ecclesiastical problems? Which ever was the case, the early Protestant missionaries seemed to be concerned to avoid the Korean church becoming either liberal or radical in its theological perspectives, and hence depart from their own conception of Christianity. In regard to the theological views of the early missionaries, A. J. Brown, the then director of PCUSA in New York, made the following comments:

Ever since this country was founded, the representative missionaries for a quarter of a century had been Puritan-minded people. They observed the Sabbath as our ancestors in New England had observed it a hundred years ago. They considered dancing, smoking, and card-playing as sinful acts and, thus, condemned those activities as things which true followers of Christ should avoid. On the matter of theology and biblicism, they were conservative. Therefore, regarding to the advent of Christ, they accepted a theory of a premillennial kingdom as the primary doctrine. They viewed higher criticism and liberal theology as dangerous heresies. Whereas the conservatives and the liberals in America and England lived peacefully and learned to work together within the evangelical setting, a few of those who held modernist perspective in Korea had to go through difficulties, especially within the settings of Presbyterian mission agencies.⁸⁵

This strict, demanding policy was laid upon the Korean church, and it required people to follow a highly moral and holy lifestyle, in order to be accepted by the church. Smokers, drinkers, and those who possessed other traditional beliefs were unwelcome in the church unless they changed their attitude. The Sabbath was strictly observed with a solemn style of worship practised by all Christians. Church members were required to live according to firm religious principles even in their secular work places (The world outside the bounds of the church was regarded as 'secular' or 'evil'). Traditional thoughts and beliefs were considered to be obstacles to the spiritual growth of Christians, since they were steeped in pretence and formality. Within such religious presuppositions it was unthinkable for the Korean

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 76. See also A. J. Brown, *The Mastery of the Far East*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1919, p. 540.

church to propose its own philosophy of ministry on the lines of its own understanding of itself. The anxiety of missionaries that independent theological beliefs held by Korean ministers might challenge their authority continued even after half a century of mission work.

The internal purpose of the Nevius Methods was to build up Bible-oriented churches in Korea. The central idea of the Methods lay in Bible study.⁸⁶ This is proof that the early missionaries placed their faith strictly upon the authority of the Bible. The missionary Harvie Conn stated that "the heart of the Nevius Methods was neither self-support nor self-government. Rather it was in the emphasis of the Bible as the foundation of all Christian ministries, and in discipline through the Bible study group".⁸⁷ In fact, three points out of the nine methods were related to the Bible and this is why both missionaries and Korean Christians spent a considerable amount of time studying the Bible.⁸⁸ The missionaries were so grateful because "Korean brothers and sisters actually believed the Bible as the word of God and they love to read and study the Bible in the Bible study group".⁸⁹ The reason why Koreans upheld the Bible and became so involved in Bible study was because the Nevius Methods were applied to the Korean churches to a great extent. The fact that the Bible was taught as the ultimate source of every ministry shows that the main purpose of mission work was to produce biblical conservatives and biblical Christianity in Korea. If the Korean church had not been given this strong emphasis on the literal study of Scripture, it probably not have focused on the Bible per se as the way it was approached—namely, in a literal unquestioning and, above all, individualist manner which did not seek to apply the teachings of the Bible to the wider issues of Korean society.

W. D. Reynolds, a missionary professor who taught systematic theology at Pyung Yang Bible College, affirmed his theological position as an orthodox

⁸⁶ Young-kyu Park, *A History of Presbyterian Theological Thought in Korea*, Seoul: Chongshin Pub. Co., 1992, p. 113.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 115.

conservative: "Altering the letter and verse of the Scripture, or covering up its intention or departing from its original meaning must not be done in any circumstance. A prototype of the Scripture must be preserved, and its intention must be displayed.... Besides talking of the truth and established theories, we must not be tempted to fall into the worthless discussions of distorted theological theories".⁹⁰ Moreover, William M. Baird, the founder of Seung Sil Professional College, warned a student who was more keen on his English study than the Bible study—"Your primary concern for English study rather than Bible study is nothing but sin".⁹¹

Here we return to something approaching the asceticism of Medieval monastic life, which centralised Christian life on piety and took a dualistic view of the world, dividing existence between Christianity and culture, and religion and science. Christianity was introduced to the Korean people as a part of Western culture. Western technology, science and modern ideas reached Korean society as part of the same process. Hence the subsequent anti-modernism and pessimistic introspection of the Korean church is ironic. Whereas individual salvation was strongly emphasised centred around fundamentalist theology, social redemption through the universal scope of Christ's love was ignored. The idea that Western Christianity equated with biblicism allowed the missionaries to speak of matters beyond the Korean national ethos. There is no doubt that through the conservative missionaries' narrow-minded perspective and lack of knowledge of Korean history and culture, the Korean church not only was imbued with conservative pietism, but also learnt to condemn any other form of faith which contradicted a fundamentalist position. Hence one sees the lack of understanding on the part of the early missionaries of the proper role of Christianity in Korean society. One also sees an effort to maintain the purity of individual faith forming a prominent emphasis

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 116.

⁹⁰ Seung-hong Han, *Trends of the Korean Theological Thought Vol. 2*, Seoul: University of Presbyterian Assembly Press, 1996, p. 550.

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 551.

within the mainstream churches in Korea, and leading to a church-centred exclusive ecclesiastical system and an egoistic and other-worldly faith.⁹²

It might be helpful at this point to examine the faith of ordinary Christians in the early Korean church through studying some of their writings. First, we see Chioh Yun, an early Christian convert, who possessed a similar form of faith to that of the missionaries. His personal faith, confessed in written form, shows that he was deeply motivated to contemplate issues such as "the fall of man, leading a spiritual and pious life to prepare for the next life in heaven, the truth of the Bible, the love of God, Christ as Saviour, and the fulfillment of prophecy".⁹³ He was one of those who petitioned for the legalisation of Christianity as a means of bringing enlightenment to the nation. His involvement in the enlightenment movement was derived from his new experience of Christianity. He never knew the Pietism of 17th century Germany, but he was no stranger to its spirit and faith. He had followed the fortunes of the American missionaries who held a mixture of Pietism, Puritanism and conservatism. Accordingly, he confirmed that Christianity was the means through which Korea would be saved and developed. This faith even encouraged him to "show an interest in the translation of the Bible".⁹⁴

Another Christian of the early Korean church, In-suh Song, found his faith in the Bible and the messages given by the missionaries. The values with which he was concerned after he became Christian were the values of Christian doctrines, such as man's fatal sin against God, the necessity of evangelism, the power of prayer, and the actual existence of God.⁹⁵ Again, Song's understanding of

⁹² Kwang-sun Suh states that the missionaries were afraid of a liberal influence creeping into the Korean churches and theological circles. Thus, instead of nurturing and developing intellectual powers among Korean Christians, they preferred not to transmit America's contemporary intellectual trends to the Korean church. Suh's argument is that the missionaries' neglect of the Christian intellect led Korean Christians to be left in the world with only an emotional and other-worldly religion—a revivalist form of, fundamentalist, Christianity (Kwang-sun Suh, *The Korean Minjung in Christ*, Hong Kong: The Christian Conference of Asia, 1991, p. 52).

⁹³ Kyung-bae Min, *A History of the Korean Church*, op. cit., p. 187.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 188.

⁹⁵ Ibid. See also, R. E. Speer, *Missionary Principle and Practice*, New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1902, pp. 388-390.

Christianity flowed from his own reflections on himself but led to no practical significance. The faith of these early Christians reveals, the power of the cultural-religious transplantation performed by the early missionaries. S. A. Moffett (1864-1939) referred to the faith of Korean Christians as following the true form of faith, which is the "simple and concise truth of the gospel".⁹⁶ The 'truth of the gospel' that Moffett refers to reveals his fundamental concept of Christianity. If his understanding of the gospel had been based upon a broad conception of the purposes of God, and not simply or chiefly on Western understanding, Koreans would have been able to construct a broader theology, and apply the wide scope within biblical teachings to their own social and cultural setting.

In this section, I have argued that the early Korean Christians were almost inactive in creating the church, since missionaries with Western Christian backgrounds took the initiative. In this respect, the emergence of the fundamentalist movement in the 1930s was not from scratch but came from the biblicism which was deeply embedded in the minds of conservative Korean Christians. The next section answers the questions as what characterises early missionaries' theology as conservative and which part of their teachings predisposed many Korean Christians towards fundamentalism.

1.1.4. The Theological Background and Characteristics of the Early Protestant Missionaries

The two major founder missionaries, Horace Underwood and Henry Appenzeller, who in their late twenties penetrated the cultural-political barrier of Korean society and founded Korean Protestantism, must be distinguished from other missionaries for their conspicuous, pioneering effort. These two missionaries, who represented the conservative trend seen in both the Presbyterian church and the Methodist church in Korea, obtained their theological knowledge and ecclesiastical convictions from their own particular circumstances: their families, home churches,

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 188.

seminary training, and the contemporary social and religious atmosphere of the late 19th century United States. Interestingly, their conservative missionary efforts went along with conservative theological teachings led by Princeton-graduate missionary professors (such as Stacy L. Robert, W. C. Eerdmans, and Floyd E. Hamilton) at Pyung Yang Seminary. It is the concern of this section, therefore, to examine both pioneer missionaries' and missionary professors' theological background and the characteristics of belief they brought with them and, if possible, to assess the manner in which their theological views and faith were demonstrated in the emerging Korean fundamentalism.

1.1.4.1. Horace G. Underwood (1859-1916)

It is necessary to examine Underwood's religious background (which was predominantly conservative in character) in order to understand the atmosphere that he helped to create in the early Korean church. Underwood was born on July 19, 1859 in London, and brought up by his parents, John Underwood and Elizabeth Grant. His parents were ardent Christians through whom Horace learned to be a sincere believer. When he was four years old, he heard a missionary from India preaching at his church, and was inspired to become a future missionary.⁹⁷ It seems his concern for missionary work was not simply incidental, for he had been deeply impressed and challenged by the work of his great-grandfather the Congregationalist, Dr. Alexander Waugh, who spent most of his life supporting a number of mission agencies, and leading various denominations in their participation in joint missions.⁹⁸ Waugh along with other church leaders had been involved in founding the 'London Missionary Society' in 1795.⁹⁹ In terms of missionary zeal and concern for church ministry, Horace inherited the active and energetic spirit of his great-grandfather.

⁹⁷ Lillias H. Underwood, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

In 1872, when Horace was 13 years old, his family emigrated to the state of New Jersey in America. They settled in New Durham and attended the Dutch Reformed Church in New Brunswick.¹⁰⁰ His attendance at this church was far from insignificant, since he became preoccupied with teaching and example of the pastor, Easton, by whose pastoral mind he was challenged. Through various revival meetings and continuous morning and evening prayer meetings, Easton's church made many converts and began to experience a new vitality in its congregational life.¹⁰¹ It was under this pastor's instruction that Horace made his way, slowly, to a sense of divine vocation for mission. His own experience, as he participated in as many as seven Christian meetings and various church activities, every week, gave him a deeper conception of the divine purpose for his life.

After he graduated from the University of New York in 1881, taking the degree of A. B., he began to study theology in earnest and was trained as a pastor at the Dutch Reformed Theological Seminary. In this new phase of his life, he became interested not only in theological training but also in participating in revival meetings and mission activities. During his third year at the seminary, he served a church in Pompton, New Jersey. After experiencing the power of the Holy Spirit coming upon the people of one village to whom he was preaching the gospel, Underwood began to take a great interest in the reality of the Holy Spirit in revival meetings.¹⁰² Through various such meetings he came to believe that dramatic conversion could only be experienced through the power of the Holy Spirit, and that experience of the Holy Spirit was the means by which sinners became reconciled with God. His preaching, hence, always centred around man's sinful nature and salvation through Jesus Christ.

Underwood's Christian experience and pattern of faith, the character of his revival ministry and theology were in tune with the approach of Reformed theology, Pietism, and consciously the First Great Awakening. His message affirmed

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., pp. 22-23.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 28.

unequivocally the doctrines which constituted the Christian's distinctive preparation for salvation: man's original sin, the divinity of Christ, and his death for sinners.¹⁰² His understanding of man's original sin accords with the traditional Calvinist view of man's total depravity. Underwood's theological standpoint, gained from his Reformed Theological Seminary, was that the first humans' disobedience to God resulted in the spiritual separation of the human race from God. Thus, all human beings were affected by sin, in every aspect of their thoughts and actions, so that no effort that came out of the human mind (without the renewing grace of God) could possibly restore the divine-human relationship. It is clear that Underwood viewed Jesus Christ, therefore, as the mediator through whom sinners receive the gift of salvation. Underwood's preaching on salvation emphasised the doctrine of unconditional election. He believed that God had chosen certain individuals for salvation, solely by His sovereign will, before the creation of the world. He believed that the elect, motivated by God, would come to His presence through faith and repentance which would be given wholly by God Himself. The gospel being freely given should be continuously proclaimed to everyone who would hear it. However, the Holy Spirit was seen as taking the responsibility for calling the elect to their salvation. It was, then, in this understanding that Underwood's enthusiasm for evangelism reached everyone as having an equal opportunity to approach God's presence regardless of their sinful nature.

In relation to Pietism, Underwood followed the teachings which propounded lively experiences of God on the part of individual Christians. Since the major concern of Pietism was to possess a life of personal piety, the nature of which is loving and obeying God with all one's heart, and one's neighbour as one's self, Underwood tended to favor ardent religious devotion, individual moral purity, charitable activity, and personal conversion over matters of intellectual belief and

¹⁰² Lillias H. Underwood, *op. cit.*, p. 31-33.

¹⁰³ Gil-sop Song, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

doctrinal controversy.¹⁰⁴ Underwood's reference to moral purity and personal conversion suggests the complete religious renewal of the individual believer by the work of the Holy Spirit. His message was deeply concerned with religious experience, which meant the convert giving up his or her old life and turning to a new one. We can clearly see that, by the renewal of life, Underwood implied consistency in a conscious change of the individual's relationship to God so as to bring a conviction regarding divine forgiveness, acceptance and perseverance.

Another characteristic of Underwood's theological standpoint and personal faith was revivalism. Underwood's emphasis on the individual's commitment to God through the grace of God and the work of the Holy Spirit corresponds to the teachings of prominent eighteenth-century Calvinists, such as Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield, who had focused their main theme of revival on the sinful nature of human beings and their incapability of escaping from that nature without God's grace operating through the Holy Spirit. At the same time, his consideration of individual conversion was reminiscent of the style of the Second Great Awakening in the early nineteenth century. In his understanding, conversion was not simply something which people believed, though faith was essential to it, but something that happened to the believer, a real, deeply emotional personal encounter and experience: a profound inner transformation leaving the individual with a substantially changed sense of self, an identity as a new being. This conception of individual transformation was counted as spiritual rebirth; the death of an old self and the birth of a new one.

1.1.4.2. Henry G. Appenzeller (1858-1902)

Appenzeller was born on February 8, 1858 to his father, Gideon, and his mother, Maria (née Gerhard).¹⁰⁵ He was the fifth generation of a Swiss family born in the state of Pennsylvania. He was brought up in a pious German Reformed

¹⁰⁴ Lillias H. Underwood, *op. cit.*, p. 28-29.

¹⁰⁵ Daniel M. Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

Christian tradition through which he came across Mennonite pietism whose literature was written in German. Since Appenzeller's mother could not speak English well and therefore taught her son in German, Appenzeller spoke German until he was twelve. His mother conducted Sunday afternoon Bible studies with her sons, "reading to them and with them in the German Bible".¹⁰⁶ This family education and his linguistic talent seem to be the reason that he was fluent in many languages (German, Greek, Hebrew and French) when he entered university and seminary.¹⁰⁷ Undoubtedly, his linguistic skills and talents later greatly contributed to the translation of the Bible into the Korean language.

In his youth, Appenzeller also had an opportunity to learn the Heidelberg Catechism, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostle's Creed.¹⁰⁸ The Heidelberg Catechism, which was considered the most ecumenical confession of the sixteenth century, was adopted during the seventeenth century as one of the important bases of the German Reformed Church in the United States. Undoubtedly, its great impact upon Pietism and Revivalism in Pennsylvania, from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, played an important role in forming Appenzeller's early childhood faith.¹⁰⁹ So, his study of Christian teachings, in his early days, eventually led him to perceive Christianity as the religion in which he could find the whole truth while undergoing personal experiences of the piety and obligation of key Christian teachings. At the age of eighteen, Appenzeller came to experience conversion at a revival meeting held in a small town called West Chester. It was through this revival meeting that he felt the incapacity of his sinful nature, and experienced a great need for God's saving grace. His conversion experience, which was similar in description to that of John Wesley, the founder of Methodist Church, motivated him to affiliate with the Methodist denomination, and

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ William E. Griffis, *A Modern Pioneer in Korea: The Life Story of Henry G. Appenzeller*, New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1912, p. 62.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Daniel M. Davies, op. cit., pp. 8-9.

to study theology at Drew Seminary after leaving university.¹¹⁰ His zeal for Christ was shown in his strong defence of upright living, and in his own definition of Christian life as "immediate and continuous service for Christ".¹¹¹ His decision to become a missionary seems to have occurred in his third year at university. During his university life at Franklin-Marshall (these two colleges united in the 1850's),¹¹² he was particularly influenced by learning Latin and Greek from Dr. John Kiefer.¹¹³ He also encountered the teachings of the Mercersburg theologians: Thomas Apple, Emanuel Gerhart, and Frederic Gast. Appenzeller learned ethics, aesthetics, the history of philosophy, and the philosophy of history from Thomas Apple (who was acting president of the Franklin-Marshall College during the time of his student year). From Emanuel Gerhart, he learnt moral science, mental science, and aesthetics.¹¹⁴ Mercersburg theology originated in the Mercersburg Seminary and was formed primarily to oppose revivalism in the 1830s and 1840s. Particularly stigmatizing the revivalistic 'techniques' of Charles Finney, John Nevin and Philip Schaff, the founders of Mercersburg theology regarded the revival movement as the 'Methodism of the anxious bench'.¹¹⁵ The anti-revivalistic and anti-pietistic teachings of the Mercersburg theologians never entirely took root in Appenzeller, for he already possessed a great passion for revivalism and piety.¹¹⁶ Thus, Appenzeller left the German Reformed Church and joined the Methodist Episcopal Church, since this church displayed a strongly revivalistic spirit. Off-campus, he attended the First Methodist Episcopal Church of Lancaster, where he found the class meetings helpful for his spiritual discipline. Within such lively Christian circumstances, he reconfirmed his interest in missionary work. Infused with military-style theological training from Drew Seminary, which was well known for

¹¹⁰ Mahn-yol Yi, "Appenzeller, The Early Korean Church Missionary" in *Christian Thought V.* 29-4, 1985, p. 61.

¹¹¹ William E. Griffis, *A Modern Pioneer in Korea*, op. cit., p. 73.

¹¹² Daniel M. Davies, op. cit., pp. 17-19.

¹¹³ Ibid., p. 22.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p. 19.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 20.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. 21.

its strict training in matters of piety and intellect, he was well equipped to proceed with his voluntary mission work in Korea.

Drew Theological Seminary, which followed a tradition of attention to the moral and religious basis of Christian education was widely known as the 'West Point' of the nineteenth-century Methodists.¹¹⁷ The students of Drew Seminary were well aware of its regulations about spiritual discipline by observing the sacraments and other various activities.¹¹⁸ Daily lives began and ended with devotional prayers. The graduation ceremony was accompanied by the 'love feast', the purpose of which was to give each student an opportunity to share his religious experience publicly. As a centre for training God's troops, Drew Seminary aimed to drive out all the world's armies, and to let the flag of Christ announce the triumph to the whole world.¹¹⁹ Not only was Drew Seminary famed for its methodically strict religious education, but it was also known as a place where students were strongly encouraged to become involved in foreign mission activities. Since mission activity was regarded as a sacrificial act on the part of the missionary himself, Appenzeller was given a hearty send-off by his colleagues when he departed for Korea. On February 2, 1885, he was ordained as a missionary by Bishop Fauler and left America the next day with his partner, W. M. Scranton.¹²⁰ Until his death in 1902, which happened in a boat collision, as he was on his way to a Bible translation committee meeting held in Mokpo, he made a great contribution both to education and ministry.¹²¹

In regard to Appenzeller's theological thought, his understanding of the gospel was universal, in the sense that he believed that the power of gospel was the

¹¹⁷ E. N. Hunt (Jr.), *op. cit.*, p. 86.

¹¹⁸ Daniel M. Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

¹¹⁹ E. N. Hunt (Jr.), *op. cit.*, pp. 85-86. Acknowledging the dangers of lax spirituality and heresy, the seminary grounded its training of an educated ministry on: "1) Promising to continually nurture the spiritual atmosphere through worship meetings; and 2) requiring professors, chosen for both their scholarship and commitment to Methodism, to sign loyalty pledges to thwart the spawning of heretical notions" (Daniel M. Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 47).

¹²⁰ E. N. Hunt (Jr.), *op. cit.*, p. 86.

¹²¹ Gil-sop Song, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

expression of God's grace for His reconciliation with the all races of the world. Certainly, his idea of universal salvation correlated with the Methodist emphasis upon individual soul-winning. Essentially, the Methodists adhered to key Christian doctrines such as the Trinity, the natural sinfulness of mankind, man's fall and need of conversion and repentance, the freedom of the will, justification by faith, sanctification and holiness, future rewards and punishments, the sufficiency of the Scriptures for salvation, and the perfection and enabling grace of God.¹²²

Bearing these doctrines in mind, Appenzeller believed that the general invitation for salvation is extended to all men, but it is only given to those who respond positively to that gift. Therefore, the sinner is qualified either to co-operate with the Holy Spirit and become regenerate, or to resist God's grace and perish. Of Adam's nature, he noted that "Man is divine, man is immortal. He is the breath of the Almighty... it is only in his moral nature that he reaches his full dignity and terrible sublimity".¹²³ With his 'holy' nature created by God, Adam needed not to be reborn. However, because he disbelieved in God (this Appenzeller calls the 'evil heart of unbelief') he came to taste physical death. He believed that Adam's nature comprised a two-fold division—will and intellect. With his intellect, Adam was able to sense and rationalise the beauty of the world given to him to rule over. His will operated in either of two modes: choice and volition, and was the path through which he committed himself to the courses he pursued.¹²⁴ In regard to the doctrine of predestination, Appenzeller stated that he would never understand this idea and that he would "deny worship to a god that predestined his children to an eternal torment".¹²⁵

Christ's redeeming sacrifice opened the door for everyone to receive the gift of salvation, but only those who believed in him could be saved. In the process of the individual's confession towards God, the role of the Holy Spirit was to call

¹²² Frank S. Mead, *Handbook of Denominations in the United States*, New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1951, pp. 131-132.

¹²³ Daniel M. Davies, op. cit., p. 368.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

inwardly those who were motivated outwardly by the gospel invitation. The Spirit did not regenerate the sinner but it brought about the new birth of the sinner until he responded with faith. The faith of a believer, therefore, was not "of this world nor [did] it have the marks of man's workmanship".¹²⁶ It was this divine faith which enabled the justified saints to see the Kingdom of God. The Kingdom of God was synonymous with Heaven; a definite place, where the children of God would live after their life on earth. "Heaven is a place. 'What we are is heaven, or hell' is bad theology. Heaven is a place. We are heirs to something, joint heirs with Christ to something. We are strangers and pilgrims here seeking a better country; we are seeking a city that hath foundations whose maker and builder is God".¹²⁷ Appenzeller's understanding of doctrines based upon the Methodist theological point of view contributed greatly to his clear preaching on individual salvation by acknowledging God as the Supreme being.¹²⁸

By virtue of the fact that most American missionaries were conservative in their Christian faith, undoubtedly both Underwood's and Appenzeller's theology can be traced back to the evangelicalism of the late nineteenth century, at the time when both men were keen young Christians and when evangelicalism was the predominant theological mood of America. George Marsden identifies the interval between 1870-1930 as the apogee of evangelicalism.¹²⁹ Protestantism in America consistently carried out its religious duties against the forces of secular change. Denominations such as the Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Disciples of Christ,

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 370.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 382.

¹²⁷ Ibid., p. 383.

¹²⁸ E. N. Hunt (Jr.), op. cit., p. 85.

¹²⁹ George Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism*, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1991, pp. 9-10. Marsden notes that American Protestants at the middle of the 19th century believed that the Christian millennium was near. As revivals continued, Protestant believers affirmed that the majority of the citizenry would be drawn to Christ. The influence of the evangelical movement went along with strong opposition to drinking, sabbath-breaking, prostitution, Romanism, and Freemasonry. Outwardly, Protestantism prospered and that led many Christians to view America as the 'Christian nation'. A Protestant version of the medieval ideal of 'Christendom' prevailed in what Mark Twain called the Gilded Age in America (an era

and Congregationalists represented the power of evangelicalism in contemporary American society. These evangelical denominations carried on such work as missions, evangelism, Sunday schools, Bible distribution, moral crusades, social work, and publications in their particular ways, but still within the frame of the evangelical paradigm. Such evangelical efforts, under the later and more defensive and conservative name of 'fundamentalism', began to show their extensive capability to retain the conservative aspect of society, even when modernism had penetrated various aspects of human life. The fact that the fundamentalist character of Underwood and Appenzeller's theology positively convinced the majority of the Korean conservatives seems, unquestionably, to require a keen observation on its theological deficiencies, biblicism, dualistic outlook, and indifference to politics.

1.1.4.3. Stacy L. Robert (1907-1946), W. C. Eerdmans (1906-1931), and Floyd. E. Hamilton (1920-1936)

Between 1920s and the 1940s, there were three prominent Princeton-graduate missionary professors (Stacy L. Robert, W. C. Eerdmans, and Floyd E. Hamilton) in Pyung Yang Seminary. Along with McCormick-graduate missionary professors (such as Samuel A. Moffet, W. L. Swallen, and Charles A. Clark) who were normally called 'hyper-conservatives or fundamentalists' and who believed in and taught the 'five-point' doctrine vigorously (the inerrancy of Scripture, the Virgin Birth of Christ, his substitutionary atonement, his bodily resurrection, and the premillennial return of Christ), the Princeton-graduate professors basically followed the same point of view.¹³⁰

Robert came to Korea as a missionary from the Northern Presbyterian Church in 1907. His promotion to become second president of the seminary, succeeding Moffet, gave him the opportunity to create even more militant and defensive

marked by the assassination of two presidents and a reign of rampant political and economic corruption).

¹³⁰ Young-kyu Park, *A History of Presbyterian Theological Thought in Korea*, Seoul: Chongshin Pub. Co., 1992, p. 71.

characteristics in both seminary and church. In his article "A Study of Biblical Difficulties" and other significant articles contributed to the *Theological Journal*, Robert emphasised the authority of Scripture along with other fundamental doctrines.¹³¹ As far as original manuscripts were concerned, he believed they were absolutely infallible and inerrant. Following his mentor, B. B. Warfield, Robert claimed that "the fact that Scripture is inerrant does not refer to the existing Scripture but the original manuscripts which were recorded by prophets and apostles under God's inspiration".¹³² Thus, he intentionally avoided any theological controversy that could be raised on the matter of inerrancy as it applied to the translated copies of Scripture. His understanding of the Scriptural inspiration is best described in his belief that the human writers were thoroughly guided by the Holy Spirit to avoid any possible errors. This does not, however, suggest that he actually admitted mechanical inspiration. Robert's view of inspiration was far from mechanical inspiration since he preferred organic inspiration. This view has much in common with the later approach of Hyung-ryong Park. As Princeton-graduates, both Robert and Park agreed in inerrancy of the Bible, believing that the Holy Spirit guided the human writers as they recorded the Scriptures and harmonised their languages, style, and thought. It was with these convictions that Korean fundamentalism came to identify biblical inspiration/inerrancy as a crucial issue.

Another notable fundamentalist professor at Pyung Yang Seminary was W. C. Eerdmans, a younger brother of Charles Eerdmans of Princeton Seminary. Unlike Charles Eerdmans, who was a moderate conservative at the time of American fundamentalist-modernist controversy in the 1920s, W. C. Eerdmans was described as a more militant defender of conservative theology. Starting his career as professor of Old Testament at Pyung Yang in 1925, Eerdmans promoted Princeton theology not only in his lectures, but also in a number of articles and books. Of these, *New Evidence on the Bible* (1942), *A Survey of the Old Testament* (1934),

¹³¹ Ibid., p. 93.

¹³² Ibid.

Outline of the Book of Genesis (1921) and *Lectures on the Books of Prophets of Post Exile* (1929) became well known.¹³³

One of Eerdman's major contributions to Korean fundamentalism was his strong emphasis on biblical inerrancy. In replying to liberal tendencies in both North America and Korea, he reaffirmed that inerrancy applies to every aspect of Scripture. Based upon the presupposition that God's word is error-free because it is supernaturally inspired, Eerdmans insisted that there is no scientific, philosophical, archaeological, psychological, geographical, political, economic, anthropological, prophetic, biographic, geological, educational, biological or physical error or discrepancy in the Bible.¹³⁴ As an expert in the Old Testament Scriptures, Eerdmans argued in his article "The Truth and False of the Pentateuch", that "Moses was perfectly fitted to be the biblical author and, in fact, the Pentateuch verifies such an authorship of Moses".¹³⁵ This point was challenged by the liberal theologian, Jae-jun Kim and it became one of the critical issues during the fundamentalist-liberal controversy in Korea.

The last, but not least, missionary professor to be noted in the respect of conservative theology is Floyd E. Hamilton. His apologetics, in particular, surpassed those of his colleagues. This seems to be the result of the theological training he received from his mentors, B. B. Warfield and Gresham Machen.¹³⁶ At the beginning of his career, Hamilton impressed many students in his seminary with his apologetic skills. As a result of his efforts, the number of conservative students multiplied and this significantly contributed to the development of fundamentalism among the Korean churches. Hamilton's widely known book *The Basis of Christian Faith* extensively discusses the idea that the Bible is the word of God. He claimed that "our ability to prove from their [the biblical writers] documents that they were honest and sincere in their treatment of historical questions leads us to believe that,

¹³³ Ibid., p. 95.

¹³⁴ Ibid., p. 96. See also W. C. Eerdmans, "Is the Bible Accurate Scientifically?" in *Theological Thought* 12 (1930, 9).

¹³⁵ Ibid., p. 97.

when they claimed to speak and write under the control of Holy Spirit, they were actually kept by its power from making errors in their manuscripts.”¹³⁷ In theory at least, Hamilton denied that the Bible was authoritative simply because it provided moral standards. It became authoritative only when the individual was convinced that the Bible was inerrant, and this conviction had to be on the assumption that the Holy Spirit was the author of it.

For Hamilton, the inspiration of the Bible was the key to resolving the difficulties in the Scriptures. Since he believed that the Bible contained truth which was wholly inspired by the Spirit, any individual could find the solutions to the discrepancies in the Bible through in-depth study. In “The Most Astonishing Book in the World”, Hamilton suggested that the inerrancy of the Bible extended to such areas as science, history, chronicle and archaeology. He further stated: “Although the Bible does not intend to teach science, it does not contradict natural science”.¹³⁸ Young-kyu Park suggests that Hamilton saw any contradiction between the Bible and modern science as the problem of science.¹³⁹ Hamilton’s understanding of biblical credibility and authority was centred on its inerrancy: “If Scripture is to be seen as historically errant, it would neither be the perfect guide to faith and action nor be considered as the book recorded under the guidance and control of the Holy Spirit”.¹⁴⁰ Hence, what showed the Bible to be the word of God was its inerrancy. This idea was promoted not only by Hamilton, but also by many conservative theologians of the time in Korea. Liberal theologians suggested that the authority of the Bible was not to be found in its inerrancy but in its guidance to saving knowledge. Hence later fundamentalist theologians readdressed this doctrine to oppose it.

¹³⁶ Ibid., p. 98.

¹³⁷ Ibid., p. 94. See also, Floyd E. Hamilton, *The Basis of Christian Faith*, Grand Rapids: 1952, p. 275.

¹³⁸ Ibid., p. 99.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

At this point, one needs to examine the transplantation of American evangelicalism's and Princetonian views of Scripture into the Korean church. Korean people had no specific a priori knowledge of Christianity and so had never had a chance to analyse American evangelicalism and Princeton theology critically. As a result, Koreans received and believed almost everything that was taught and preached from the American perspective, without referring to and studying the Bible within their own cultural and social setting. Thus, eventually they came to establish churches limited by the paradigms of American society. How far did this work out in the longer term? Koreans were led naturally to identify the message they received at the birth of Korean Protestantism as their own understanding of religion, and to place its American theological perspective above the real needs of the Korean ecclesiastical world.

This analysis, to some extent, allows us to describe, on the one hand, Underwood and Appenzeller as young zealous voluntary cross-cultural missionaries who had insufficient cultural and social knowledge about Korea, and on the other hand, three missionary professors as biblicists who condemned any theology that challenged the inerrancy of the Bible. These missionaries came to a country which wanted to show respect for its own history and traditions. Their zeal for the promotion of the Korean churches' faithful devotion to God and the church are highly acclaimed. However, their efforts to make the Korean church exactly mimic American evangelicalism or Princetonian ideas, while ignoring the possibility of shaping the church according to Korean culture and ethos, tended to promote the idea that American culture was superior to Korean culture. In particular, the missionaries' role as supervisors over the Korean church sometimes went beyond simple criticism of the church because they controlled the whole system of theological training and church ministry.

Furthermore, missionaries, such as Underwood and Appenzeller, working under the protection of the American government, communicated with the American Legations by submitting official reports and documents about their

missions in Korea. Hence the missionaries carried out an important role in establishing and justifying American policies towards Korea. Looking at things from the standpoint of the US government, the missionaries' reports and analyses of their encounters with Korea were helpful resources, for it could obtain information about Korean political and social realities of the time. Being controlled and supported by the government of the US there were times (such as during Japan's colonisation of Korea) when the missionaries had to withdraw from their mission work for the sake of their own country.¹⁴¹ Indeed, political neutrality was necessary for the future of their mission. For them, reacting against Japanese imperialism would have entailed severe persecution, and hence an even more difficult route to recovery than that which existed. Of course this was not, on the whole, what the missionaries intended in the first place, but was caused by external forces and circumstances.

As has been shown earlier, the theological structure and ecclesiastical doctrines of the early missionaries were based upon a blend of American evangelical faith and Princetonian tradition. Hence, a large community of fundamentalist churches was

¹⁴¹ Seung-hong Han, "Theology and Thoughts of the Early Korean Protestant Missionaries in Korea" in *The Korean Church and History*, Seoul: The Christian Literature Press, p. 50. The American Protestant missionaries arrived in Korea at a time when there was less persecution of Christianity than there had been when the Catholic missionaries had arrived. At the time of the Protestant missionaries' arrival, Japan and China were oppressing Korea. Russia was also plotting to expand its power to embrace the peninsula as part of its southward expansion policy. In this political uncertainty, Korea thought of America as its ally, especially after the Korean-American Treaty (1882) was signed. Until that time American capitalists had not shown much interest in Korean markets; nor had the American government bothered to build its influence in the peninsula. The 1882 Treaty promoted friendly political relations between the two countries until Japan deprived Korea of diplomatic independence. After establishing its power in the peninsula, Japan defeated Russia on November 17, 1905 and finally assumed direct rule over Korea. President Theodore Roosevelt gave his tacit consent to the Japanese colonisation of Korea. In doing so America hoped to stop Russia's southward expansion, and expected a recognition of its own colonisation of the Philippines by Japan. It was a pity, therefore, that the king *Kojong* (the last Emperor of the *Choson* Dynasty) asked for America's help without realising that the request would lead to Japan's colonisation of Korea. In the meantime, American missionaries felt no guilt about their work among the Koreans since they believed that America had nothing to do with the Japanese colonisation of Korea. In many respects they contributed to the cultural efflorescence and enlightenment of Korea. However, the reason why the Korean government tended to distance itself from the American missionaries was because their influence, abetted by the US government, might cause national political confusion (Yung-jae Kim, *A History of the Korean Church*, op. cit., p. 72).

founded in Korea. One fundamentalist characteristic of these churches was individualism. This individualism, with its strong emphasis on individual salvation, resulted in sectarianism and denominationalism. Underwood's and Appenzeller's theology and faith were evangelical and they had fundamentalist biblical points of view.¹⁴² Biblicism was another aspect of the fundamentalism found in the Korean church. Strongly influenced by the Princeton scholars and their emphasis on the inerrancy of the Bible, the Korean church became one of those churches which followed Princeton's modified Calvinism.¹⁴³

Once again, with regard to the question of missionary status in Korea, most individuals were not merely founders of churches, but also administrators and organisers. John Ross of Manchuria had written:

The missionary is not a pastor, nor should he ever sink into the mere pastor. He is the modern representative, and the only representative of the apostles of the early church. As the 'Apostle' was the 'sent' of the primitive church, to preach Christ where he was unknown, so the missionary is the 'sent' of the modern church, to do the same work. The missionary is not a pastor, but the founder of churches, and the trainer of pastors whom he is to ordain over those churches.¹⁴⁴

The missionaries of Korea had carried out their work as if they were following Ross's lead. However, what had been missing in the missionaries' work in Korea was the handing over of the administrative work of the Korean churches to native ministers. We have seen in the earlier chapter the form of the early Korean churches under the guidance of American conservative missionaries, and how the conservative American theology of the missionaries functioned in the process of forming the early Korean church. Hence, it is not surprising that the Korean

¹⁴² Gil-sop Song, op. cit., p. 44. Early missionaries, in general, placed the Bible at the centre of their mission and considered it to be their source of supernatural guidance. This, of course, led them to adopt the 'Nevius Methods' as their mission policy to focus their mission activities according to biblical teachings. Their world views were predominantly grounded upon a literal reading of Scripture, especially of biblical prophecies. The early foreign mission group, including Underwood and Appenzeller, was comprised of conservative missionaries who were most insistent on making the inerrancy of Scripture a test of true faith. (Harvie M. Conn, "Studies in the Theology of the Korean Presbyterian Church" Part I in *The Westminster Theological Journal*, Vol. 29, No. 1, Nov. 1966, pp. 28-29).

¹⁴³ This will be discussed in length as I examine Princeton theology in a later chapter.

¹⁴⁴ L. George Paik, op. cit., pp. 298-299.

Protestant converts, who were characteristically submissive to their own leaders, should have followed the teachings of the early missionary pastors and theologians so closely. In the next chapter I will briefly discuss how the Korean church steadfastly adhered to a conservative theology in the midst of Japanese colonialism and how Japanese colonialism affected the Korean church by bringing out into the open the fundamentalist-liberal divide for the first time.

1.2. The Structure of the Korean Church During the Japanese Colonial Period (1910—1945)

1.2.1. The Continuing Ministry of the Korean Church

The opening of the country to the influences of Western culture and the newly emerging power of Japan made Korea's entry into the twentieth century politically and economically unpleasant. Outwardly, Korea suffered an urgent need to retain its sovereignty and self-identity in the face of aggression by other nations while, inwardly, it shouldered the task of breaking away from feudalism. During this period of national crisis, Japan had fought Russia in 1904 to decide which country should annex Korea. As a result of Japan's victory a protocol named the Woolsa Treaty¹ between Japan and Korea was signed on November 17, 1905, the emperor of Korea being ordered to accept Japanese terms. Thus Japan began to exercise authority as the 'protector' of Korea.² In signing the treaty, the Korean government yielded its authority to Japan. In turn Japan pledged itself, "in a spirit of firm friendship, to ensure the safety and repose" of the Korean imperial house, and to reform the weakness of the country without annexing it.³

In the meantime, the Protestant community in Korea was encouraged to attend consecutive mass prayer meetings organised by Duk-ki Chun, the minister at Sang Dong Church. The headquarters of the Epworth League was at his church and it assembled many members to protest to the emperor about the invalidity of the Woolsa Treaty. The protest ended tragically under the threat of Japanese violence.

¹ This treaty was made under Japanese force as a means of justifying Japan's rule over Korea. The treaty was written in terms of Japanese 'protection' of Korea from foreign forces, but it was merely a scheme to colonise the country. The following is an extract from the treaty. "The Japanese and Korean Governments, being desirous of strengthening the identity of interests which unites the two Empires, have, with the same end in view, agreed upon the following Articles, which will remain binding until the power and prosperity of Korea are recognized as having been firmly established:-- 1) The Japanese Government, through the Foreign Office at Tokyo, will henceforward take control and direct the foreign relations and affairs of Korea, and Japanese diplomatic representatives and Consuls will protect the subjects and interests of Korea abroad" (quoted from F. A. McKenzie, *The Tragedy of Korea*, op. cit., p. 309).

² Taik-poo Chun, *The History of Church Development in Korea*, op. cit., pp. 148-149.

Although the protest and supplication come to nothing, this event alerted the Japanese government to the Koreans' desire for political liberty.

Whilst no one could anticipate future political developments, the churches were experiencing remarkable growth during the Korean version of the Great Awakening Movement. This evangelical revival movement began in Pyung Yang between January 14 and 23, 1907⁴ as the outcome of prayer meetings held in 1903 by some of the Western missionaries.⁵ As many American churches and Christians had been inspired by the spirit of the First and Second Great Awakenings, so now Korea began to experience similar things at the hands of a newly arrived group of missionaries from America and Canada who formed a Christian community in Won San. These missionaries, a unified group of American Southern Methodist Mission, American Baptist Mission and Canadian Presbyterian Mission workers, believed that God was working for the Korean people through them. They had been greatly affected by the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Mission and were all familiar with Dwight Moody's revival movement which had swept through late 19th century America.⁶ Bearing in mind that the major purpose of their mission was to engender a revival movement among the Korean people, they gathered regularly for Bible study and prayers. They held annual Bible conferences and invited guest speakers to share their testimonies.

In 1903, there were phenomenal Bible conferences held by the missionary community on the occasion of M. C. White's (a Southern Methodist missionary) visit to Korea. In the course of the meetings, both Koreans and the missionaries themselves were profoundly blessed by the work of the Holy Spirit. For example,

³ F. A. McKenzie, *The Tragedy of Korea*, op. cit., p. 108. See also William E. Griffis, *Corea, The Hermit Nation*, London: Harper & Brothers, 1905, p. 495.

⁴ Richard Rutt, in his biography of James Scarth Gale, a missionary in Korea between 1889 and 1927, writes that "During 1907 the Korean Presbyterian and Methodist churches were rocked by a revival movement that became the wonder of the Christian world, though it sometimes shocked the missionaries by its fervor" (Richard Rutt, *James Scarth Gale and His History of the Korean People*, Seoul: Seoul Computer Press, 1972, p. 45).

⁵ Kyung-bae Min, *A History of the Korean Church*, op. cit., pp. 256-257.

⁶ Taik-poo Chun, op. cit., pp. 156-157; See also Address and Papers of John R. Mott, Vol. 1, *The Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions*, p. 28)

being motivated by the atmosphere of the meeting, R. A. Hardie, a missionary pastor, shared how he had commenced his evangelistic work in 1895 and how difficult had it been for him. The core of his confession was a reflection upon his wrong motives at that time and his misunderstanding of Korean culture. It was through this experience of a dramatic outpouring of the Holy Spirit that he was encouraged to restart his missionary work in a more appropriate frame of mind.⁷

In regard to the Pyung Yang revival movement of 1907, one can see the Korean churches' fondness for revival meetings as one studies the supernatural phenomena of the movement. What becomes clear is the way such movements elsewhere had attracted Korean pastors such as Sun-ju Gil and Ki-poong Lee. Both men later became distinguished nationwide evangelists. When news of the revival movement in Won San was heard by the Presbyterian missionaries and Korean Christians in Pyung Yang, the requests for Hardie to attend a special convention came thick and fast. As guest speaker at the convention, Hardie delivered a sermon based on the first epistle of John, hoping that all participants, whether Christians or non-Christians, would understand and feel a need for the Holy Spirit.⁸ Throughout the convention, Sun-ju Gil experienced what he believed was a personal encounter with the Spirit. This inspired him to participate in various revival movements in Korea, and marked a heightened sense of community within the church to a degree not previously experienced.

⁷ Young-jae Kim, *A History of the Korean Church*, op.cit., p. 111. Also J. R. Moose, "A Great Awakening" in *K.M.F* Vol 2., No. 3. (Jan. 1906, pp. 51f) and William Scott, *Canadians in Korea*, Tronto, 1975, p. 55. The fruitlessness of Hardie's mission work seems to have been partially caused by his belief in the superiority of western culture over Korean traditions. He overlooked the importance of understanding other people's cultures through which they had come to possess their way of life. As a result of his proud manner he was once criticised by an early Korean convert, Kye-eun Chun, for his thoughtless approach to the Korean people (Taik-poo Chun, *The History of Church Development in Korea*, op. cit., p. 158). However, Hardies' confession before his co-missionaries and flock was significant for two reasons: firstly, it challenged and motivated his fellow missionaries to grasp the importance of human culture, the ignorance of which would cause a mission to fail; secondly, it showed the Korean people that "Koreans could also experience the actual blessings of God through their true confession of sin" (*Annual Report of the Methodist Episcopal Church for 1905*, pp. 39-43).

The Great Awakening Movement of Korea, which began with the *Chang Dae Hyun* Church and four other churches in Pyung Yang, started as a series of meetings which grew out of the teaching of the missionaries. By that time Bible teaching and prayer meetings were thriving throughout the country, and were often considered as the core tasks that native Christians should carry on. This reminds us of the Nevius Methods which directed the Korean church towards Bible study. When one considers that revival conferences were a common phenomenon of the contemporary American church, it was natural for the missionaries to hold revival conferences in Korea. At any rate, the initial revival conference of 1,500 had 'the unity of the church in Christ, regardless of differences between denominations' as its central message.⁹ Having seen many conversion experiences throughout the conference, both the missionaries and Korean believers became more involved in the supernatural characteristics of Christianity. The results of these religious experiences were significant changes to the lives of many Koreans, regardless of age, sex, class, and social position.¹⁰

What many Korean Christians came to believe was that there was a purpose behind the movement—that it was neither momentary nor a mere show. They believed that this was a miracle given by the Holy Spirit for the benefit of the Korean people suffering under Japanese rule and that it was teaching them to trust God in every circumstance. In the twenty-five years since Christianity had been introduced, Korean Christians had tended to base their faith on the ground of cognition rather than religious experience. They had grasped the concept of God and of divine sovereignty over humanity, but there had been little emphasis on the experiential aspect of religion or the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. In this sense the

⁸ Gil-sop Song, op. cit., p. 152. See also, H. A. Rhodes and A. Cambell, *History of the Korean Mission Presbyterian Church in the USA (1884-1934)*, Seoul: Choson Mission Presbyterian Church, 1934, p. 281.

⁹ Kyung-bae Min, op. cit., p. 252. See also W. N. Blair, *Gold in Korea*, 3rd ed. Presbyterian Church, USA., 1957, p. 65.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 154. Drunken brawlers became ardent Christians, while gamblers ceased gambling and turned to Bible study. Characteristically, the new converts began to speak to their neighbours, who had not hitherto professed any interest in Christianity

movement was a genuine experience by the individual of the love of God. Such an experience of regeneration led invariably to the living of a highly ethical life. Few believed that a person could remain unchanged when they were touched by the Spirit. Such an individual religious experience provided a full explanation and sense of conviction of salvation; why they needed it; how it had been provided and how they could receive it. On the other hand, the missionaries constantly instructed the Korean Christians to leave political problems to the realm outside their faith. They thus prepared the ground very thoroughly for the non-politicization of the Korean church.

A number of Christian scholars and church historians in Korea hold different views on the matter as to whether or not the missionaries were intentionally leading the revival movement away from political involvement with Japanese imperialism. It seems that the missionaries had no intention to manipulate the movement because they themselves were deeply inspired by what was happening. Furthermore, if they believed in a miraculous ministry of the Holy Spirit which encouraged sinners to repent and rest in peace, they were bound to believe that the incident happened because of the Holy Spirit alone. However, the missionaries consistently advocated the Korean church's separation from political engagement no matter what the circumstance would be. According to their theological perspective the church should remain as a holy communion of saints, distinct from secular affairs which could possibly damage faith. God's sovereignty and providence over the universe was considered by missionaries to be manifest in Japan's protectorate over Korea as had been the case for the Israelites under Egypt. The following statements by A. D. Clark and G. H. Jones show that the missionaries perceived a non-political church as the ideal for Korea: "Since we know about the Christian's political participation and its confusion, the church is demanded to be secluded from such things" (Clark)¹¹; "The greatest need of the Korean people is understanding of a well-

¹¹ A. D. Clark, *A History of the Church in Korea*, Seoul: Christian Literature Society, 1971, pp. 129-130.

defined law, and submitting themselves to a legitimately established authority” (Jones).¹² As is clear therefore, the conservative missionaries in Korea instructed the Korean church to follow Paul’s teachings concerning Christian submission to the civil authorities. Although the Japanese empire was not a democracy and was far from perfect, the missionaries believed they had no need at that time to offer better advice on what to do about the suffering experienced under Japanese rule. All they would say was that being good citizens of this earthly kingdom would teach them to be good citizens of the kingdom of God.

The extraordinary enthusiasm for a congregationally-based revival movement gradually expanded and became associated with an emphasis on Bible study and individual piety. Two years after the Great Awakening of 1907, the Southern Methodist General Mission organised an evangelical movement with the motto, ‘Two Hundred Thousand Souls for Christ’. The purpose of this movement was to recapture the spirit of the awakening by winning further converts. This movement was soon followed by another evangelical movement which the General Council of Evangelical Missions designated ‘A Million Souls for Christ’. Considering the recent history of the Korean Church, such an aim could be thought of merely as an attempt by foreign missionaries to temper the exasperated feelings of the Koreans toward the Japanese, and to lead the minds of the Korean people into less political channels. Alternatively, the idea could have arisen from missionary anxiety, concerned over the slow progress made by the Korean church following the awakening.

In the next section, I will examine more closely the missionaries’ emphasis on a non-political church, while discussing the Korean church in practice as it experienced severe persecution from the Japanese occupying forces.

¹² G. H. Jones, “A Symposium on Korea’s Greatest Need” in *KMF Vol. 3, Nov. 2, 1907*, p. 161.

1.2.2 The Korean Church Under Severe Persecution

When formal annexation was completed on August 22 1910, the Japanese administration of Korea commenced under General Terauchi. By using the power allotted to him under the Woolsa Treaty, he subjected Koreans to house searches.¹³ The governor-general held absolute authority to pass whatever statutes he felt necessary, and that inevitably produced a situation where the basic human rights of the Korean people were subject to violation. General Terauchi's administration of Korea was not so much a protectorate as a tyranny.¹⁴

Japan's over-estimation of her capacity to control Korea spontaneously degraded Korean identity, making it subordinate to Japanese nationality. Japan instituted a policy of strict control over every aspect of Korean life.¹⁵ The major purpose of house examinations was to persecute Christians, or to hinder other people from becoming Christians. Christians came under constant surveillance and were often targeted by Japanese policemen due to the fact that Christian ideas were seen as opposed to the ruling ideology of Japan.¹⁶

The governor-general also intervened in school education, especially Christian private educational institutions where religious teaching and worship were performed.¹⁷ Henceforth, all Christian schools and other private institutions were controlled as part of Japan's suppression of the indigenous Korean educational system. No religious teaching or ceremonies were permitted in private schools. As a result, the Methodist schools reorganised, eliminating religious teaching and similar

¹³ Yung-jae Kim, *A History of the Korean Church*, op. cit., p. 159.

¹⁴ F. A. McKenzie, *Korea's Fight for Freedom*, op. cit., pp. 183-184.

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 186-187.

¹⁶ When the Bible study movement and prayer meetings prospered as a result of the Korean Great Awakening Movement of 1907, the Japanese government commanded the Korean churches to end all such movements because they feared the Bible as a source of belief in liberty and freedom. For instance, the story of Moses leading Israel's struggle for independence from Egypt was considered a very dangerous influence on the Koreans.

¹⁷ Mahn-yol Yi, *The Cultural History of Christian Movement in Korea*, Seoul: The Christian Literature Society, 1987, pp. 227-228. The governor-general immediately commanded the mission schools to stop using their own text-books and to use ones which the Japanese had prepared. These new text-books twisted Korean history and functioned as a means of eliminating 'dangerous

activities as part of a strategy to continue their education and mission work indirectly using informal methods, while Presbyterian missionaries and mission schools continued Bible teaching and worship, regardless of government interference. This brought another edict from the government and terrible discrimination directed against students in Presbyterian mission schools.¹⁸

In the middle of Japan's harsh and unjust rule, a third group of people (those who were not affiliated to either Methodism or Presbyterianism) struggled to understand how they should act, since they were torn between obeying Japan and aiding the Koreans. The missionaries in some cases welcomed Japan's protectorate over Korea, hoping that its so-called 'tyranny and abuses' would help to improve Korean society.¹⁹ However, in general terms they were hesitant about their activities in Korea under Japan's governorship. Certainly, they wished to retain friendly relationships with the Koreans in order to maintain the effectiveness of their mission activities in Korea. But these relationships were guaranteed to make the Japanese government feel uneasy about their presence. In 1909 the missionaries devised four possible strategies: 1) that of taking an anti-Japanese stance which would have firmly identified them with the Korean people, 2) of doing nothing about the situation, a cause which would have made both the Japanese government and the Korean people unhappy, 3) of co-operating with the Japanese government, which would have made them collaborators with the Japanese imperialists, and 4) of maintaining a loyal recognition sufficient to place them in a neutral position. Of these four options, they unanimously decided to pursue neutrality.²⁰

Not only did they assume such a policy for themselves; they also suggested that the Korean people should do likewise: "Submit and make yourselves better men. You can do nothing now by taking up arms. Educate your children, improve your

thoughts', i.e. anything that might promote a desire for freedom (F. A. McKenzie, *Korea's Fight for Freedom*, op. cit., p. 215).

¹⁸ Gil-sop Song, op. cit., p. 225.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 210.

²⁰ Yung-jae Kim, op. cit., p. 162. See also *Letter of Arthur J. Brown to Masanao Hanihara, the 1st Secretary of the Japanese Embassy in Washington*, February 16, 1912.

homes, better your lives. Show the Japanese by your conduct and your self-control that you are as good as they are, and fight the corruption and apathy that helped to bring your nation to its present position".²¹ In a memorandum submitted to the Japanese governor-general, the representative of the missionaries wrote:

We understand that Your Excellency is making great efforts for the peaceful development of the rule of the people. In the incident which is in progress, however, many people who we trust were arrested. That Christianity imparts the impression of a den of rebellious agitation imperils our interests as missionaries. We taught Korean church elders and teachers to obey authority and we did not permit the churches to participate in political movements.²²

From this letter, one may assume that the missionaries were aiming to make the Korean churches non-political by teaching obedience to Japanese authority. Insofar that a non-political stance by the church became one of the most prominent characteristics of Korean fundamentalism, the missionaries' teachings appear to have been the main cause of creating a church which was concerned little about under issues affecting society. We see this from the missionaries' sympathy with the Korean people inwardly, but strictly political neutrality outwardly. This can be understood either as an enervated spirit towards Japan's tyrannical government and an unwillingness to become too deeply involved with the political problems of another country, or as the result of being directed by their home governments to remain neutral. This neutral conduct made them vulnerable to attacks from either side. The Japanese government had always regarded the missionaries as obstacles to their scheme for assimilation. This was why the missionaries were also subjected to searches by Japanese policemen.

Many Korean Christians thought that the missionaries' neutral attitude was not an appropriate position for Koreans themselves to adopt. They had to face realities that missionaries could ignore. The missionaries could do almost nothing to improve the situation. The Korean church, therefore, had to plough its lonely way

²¹ F. A. McKenzie, *Korea's Fight for Freedom*, op. cit., p. 211.

²² Chae-won Pak, "The Sinmin-hoe Incident in Anak" in *The Modern History of Korea IV*, Seoul: Sin Gu Mun Hwa Pub., 1969, p. 89.

through the overwhelming climate of political repression. Now the political and religious aspects of what had begun to penetrate the Korean people's minds became strongly messianic. The strong desire of the Korean people for liberation from oppression led to the March the First Independence Movement in 1919.

Before we proceed to examine the emergence of the independence movement, it is essential to raise a question as to why, given Japanese attempts to Japanize the Korean churches and the missionaries' decision to remain neutral and to counsel the avoidance of politics, the churches became such a focus for anti-Japanese organisation? For Koreans during the Japanese occupation period (1905-1945), Christianity was not only a religious experience but also, and more importantly, a political one. This was because there had been certain social and political effects of missionary involvement in the Korean churches, although the missionaries did not consciously aim for these effects. In other words, whilst the ultimate goals of the Christian mission were strictly religious, and distinct from resistance against the Japanese occupation, many Korean Christians responded to the gospel message with hopes of social and political liberation. They identified the messianic hope with the physical deliverance of their country from Japan. Their resistance seems to have been spontaneous, stemming from their consciousness of nation; its history and its need for liberation. In the tragic political situation (exploitation of foreign diplomacy, disbandment of the military, and divesting of judicial power, etc.), therefore, the Korean church grew into a strong organisation and built upon anti-Japanese feeling. People from every class, age group, and gender joined the church, all hoping it would lead to national independence. The church provided the focus for anti-Japanese sentiments and took on the role of promoter of Christian lifestyles. The active Christian life, which was equated with freedom and reliability, replaced the passivity of traditional Korean society with active participation in the liberation movement. The promotion of equality and human rights under God's providence was realised even in the face of Japanese oppression. Church leaders stressed the need for religious authority and freedom, teaching that faith in God was the only

source of power to resist the Japanese. The church called for Koreans to rise above evil circumstances and take their places as liberators and masters of surrounding circumstances. It reminded them that humanity was God's supreme creation. It preached the dignity of human beings and asserted that Koreans should continue their education, since the development of human resources would contribute to national independence and to the general advancement of the country. On the basis of biblical teachings and the democratic ideas of Christianity, the Korean church taught its congregations not to yield their faith in the face of tribulation and to resist the Japanese should they violate freedom of religion. The Japanese government reacted only moderately towards these events. Rather than immediately destroy the Korean church, which might have given the impression that it was intolerant of Christianity in general (it was necessary to hide its anti-Christianity from both domestic and other countries' churches), it attempted to Japanize the Korean church (one of the few strongholds of indigenous Korean leadership at that time) in order to use it to assimilate the Korean people to the Japanese system.

The March the First Independence Movement was, regardless of its success or failure, a major national independence movement as well as a significant national salvation movement. It was developed through identification and solidarity with the hope of achieving liberation. Through a non-violent street demonstration, the movement appealed to the conscience of Japan and the rest of the world. Unfortunately, this demonstration was put down violently- many Koreans were wounded and killed. The governor-general assumed that Christians were the prime movers of the independence movement. Although it was true that most Christians were engaged in the movement, church leaders attempted every possible way to avoid the church becoming a centre of nationalism rather than the house of God. They always kept in mind that the church should maintain its neutrality in political matters.²³

²³ Conservative Christians in Korea view the Independence Movement as a non-political movement, which took place spontaneously as a result of the desire of the Korean people for national

Practically speaking, the independence movement did not succeed when discussed from the perspective of immediate and complete independence from Japanese colonialism. However, the Korean protest of 1919 was not without results. The goal of independence from Japanese colonial rule challenged the various social classes and generations of Korean people to come together in the struggle for independence. This shows how important it was for the Korean church to be a role model for communal life and patriotism. The missionaries' fundamentalist idea of a non-political church did not work in this particular context because submission to Japanese control would have meant the Korean people giving up Christianity. However, the missionaries' and church pastors' constant teachings of the separation between church and state reinforced anti-modernist fundamentalism within the Korean church.

I have examined the tension which existed between Korean church and the Japanese government of Korea due to the latter's desire to control over Korea and the former's desire to regain religious freedom. I have also shown that the missionaries' promotion of a strictly non-political church implied a passive role for the Korean church. Facing religious persecution, the Korean church instead aimed to promote patriotism and communal life. In the next section, I will discuss how this unity of the church began to fall apart because of the Japanese enforcement of 'Shintoism' and because of some theologians' questioning of conservative theological doctrines.

1.2.3. A Consolidation of Fundamentalism as a Result of Theological Controversy (Fundamentalism versus Liberalism)

During the first (1905-1918) and second (1919-1930) phases of occupation, the Korean church displayed great unity in the face of Japanese imperialism. It maintained its conservative evangelical faith as the only way to keep its relationship

freedom. Freedom for the nation meant freedom to be Christian, and hence the independence movement was not a political revolt but a positive reaction on the part of Christians against an evil

with its conception of God. However, as Japanese control tightened even more in the 1930s, it found itself facing an unexpected theological controversy between theological conservatism and liberalism, due to the Japanese demands for Koreans to observe the 'Shinto Ceremony', and the emergence of different theological and hermeneutic approaches to the Christian faith.

The Japanese persecution experienced between 1935 and 1945 reached its peak with the 'Shrine Question'. To appreciate the significance of Shrine and Shintoism is to understand why it became a polemical matter for the Korean people, especially the Christian leaders and theologians. A Shinto shrine is a place where religious rites are performed by the Japanese people. In former times Japanese ancestors, war warriors, and heroes were enshrined for the purpose of worship.²⁴ 'Shintoism' is the name used for a religion by which the Japanese people have traditionally expressed their beliefs. Japanese scholars define Shintoism as "a principle of human life as well as an indigenous faith, grounded upon the Japanese concept of god".²⁵

As a result of Japanese coercion Catholic Christians participated in Shintoism, followed by the Methodists, until finally the General Presbyterian Assembly also conceded defeat. With its compliance, an important strategy of the Japanese government was about to be realised.²⁶ However, although Christianity had been placed at a disadvantage, some Korean Christians and missionaries still hesitated to participate in the Shinto ceremony, since they viewed it as an act which venerated a human being and therefore which God had forbidden. These Christians came mostly from conservative theological backgrounds. They believed the Bible to be the word of God given to every Christian. It was their affirmative faith, grounded upon their

power which denied their God-given religious fellowship.

²⁴ Yong-je Han, *100 Years of Korean Churches' Growth*, op. cit., p. 56.

²⁵ Taik-poo Chun, op. cit., p. 257.

²⁶ Gil-sop Song comments that the 'Shinto Ceremony' was a Japanese scheme to accomplish two things: on the one hand, the Japanese attempted to repress the spirit of the Korean Christians by encouraging them to worship the Japanese Emperor, whose authority was considered to be greater than the Christian God; on the other, the Japanese aimed at indoctrinating the Korean nationalists with a historical understanding of colonialism, so that they would submit to Japan's colonial rule. He goes on to say that the 'Shinto Ceremony' was an instrument to justify and continue Japanese colonial rule (Gil-sop Song, *History of Theological Thought in Korea*, op. cit., pp. 350-351).

devotion to God's commandments and love of the church, that inspired them to defend and preserve the integrity of the church.²⁷ Also, their strong belief in the Second Advent of Christ encouraged them to endure suffering, since eventually this world would be destroyed and they would join Christ in ruling the millennial kingdom. So, to these conservative Christians, the Shinto ceremony was a form of idol worship which challenged their God-centred faith and Bible-oriented theology. These anti-Shintoist Christian leaders split from the mainstream Presbyterian Assembly for the remainder of their ministries. To defend their faith against the pressure of Shintoism, independently of the General Presbyterian Assembly, these leaders, who included Ki-son Lee, Yong-nak Kim, and Sung-shim Kim, drew up fundamental plans for the expulsion of Shintoism from the Korean church: 1) Children would not be enrolled in any school that practiced Shintoism; 2) existing pro-Shintoist churches would be deliberately weakened by the anti-Shintoist movement; 3) Those Christians who were against Shintoism would be rallied, and small group worship services would be organised for the future establishment of a pure church; 4) the existing General Presbyterian Assembly would not be recognised; 5) baptisms carried out by pro-Shintoist pastors would be regarded as invalid; 6) a new Presbyterian Assembly would be constructed from anti-Shintoist members; 7) there would be co-operation with other anti-Shintoist groups; and 8) in the meantime they would concentrate on expanding their membership while conducting normal worship.²⁸

The two diametrically opposed theological trends were already embryologically present in the Korean church in the early 1930s when the church first encountered the issue of Shintoism. Those who militantly cherished their faith against Shintoism were considered to be conservatives or fundamentalists, whereas those who surrendered or adapted their faith in the face of Japanese pressure were regarded as liberals. Although it would be too hasty to infer that these two theological positions

²⁷ Young-jae Kim, *op. cit.*, pp. 219-222.

were produced by the polarity caused by the imposition of Shintoism, the two distinct attitudes seen in the crisis demonstrated two fundamentally different approaches and styles of commitment to the church's ministry that were evident throughout the entire period of Japanese rule. While conservative Christians preferred to keep away from political activities and focus their attention on worship, liberal Christians responded in two ways. Some actively engaged in political movements in order to take part in God's liberation work. They attempted various actions and plots aimed at assassinating the governor-general and other Japanese officers. Others submitted every aspect of their lives, including their own ways of practising religion, to the scrutiny of the Japanese government, hoping that they might at least be able to express their religious feelings inwardly, if not outwardly.

In so far as the cause of the split in the Korean church was due to a difference in theological perspective concerning Shintoism, it is clear that it was not a simple division between conservative Christians, who were mainly apolitical, and liberal Christians, who were predominantly political. It is necessary to clarify in this particular context exactly what was political and what was not. In fact the conservative Christians' anti-Shintoism attitude demonstrates that they were prepared under certain circumstances to become involved in political matters. Hence a contradiction existed between their theoretical claims that the church should be nonpolitical and their actual engagement in a political movement. This could be compared with the early church's reaction to Roman imperialism: not escaping from its political reality but accepting that religion had to co-exist with politics. In this respect Korean conservative Christians, particularly those who were anti-Japanese became engaged in political affairs as a means of gaining religious freedom.

Similarly liberal Christians were divided between those who were anti-Shintoist (and were therefore political in the sense that they fought alongside nationalists

²⁸ Gil-sop Song, *op. cit.*, p. 358. See also Yang-sun Kim, *10 Years of Korean Church's Liberation*, Seoul: The Korean Presbyterian Assembly of Jesus, 1956, pp. 195-196.

against the Japanese) and those who were accommodationists. The former group of liberal Christians responded to the Japanese oppression much as some conservative Christians did. The only difference was that the conservative Christians' political engagement was a spontaneous and unavoidable reaction designed to maintain their conservative faith, whereas the liberal Christians' political engagement was more active and deliberate. Anti-Shintoists believed that Christian life could only be maintained through resistance to the false directives of the Japanese government.

Because of Japanese oppression the Korean church found no way of achieving restoration until Korea finally attained independence on August 15, 1945 as a result of the Japanese surrender at the end of the Second World War. The spiritual and physical struggle against the Japanese by anti-Shintoist Christians maintained the spirit of the conservative churches during the long wait for independence. An age of theological submission had passed away and a new era for the Korean church was beginning. The church seemed about to experience healing and catharsis.

However, freedom of faith brought further divisions to the Korean Presbyterian church, caused directly by the problem of ecclesiastical authority and indirectly by the conflict of opinions between theological conservatives and liberals. Those who maintained their conservative faith demanded the re-establishment of evangelical Christianity, which had been driven underground under the Japanese regime. On September 20, 1945 the leaders of the Korean church who had been released from prison gathered to forge a new beginning for the Korean church. They formulated five basic principles: 1) since most of the church leaders (both pastors and elders) had participated in Shintoism, they should repent and purify themselves in accordance with a recommended form of chastisement before resuming their ministerial roles; 2) the recommended form of penance should take the form either of self-reproach or self-discipline. Pastors should retire from their ministry for at least two months, during which they should mourn and make self-confession; 3) during the pastors' suspension period, deacons or lay leaders should lead the worship service; 4) the fundamental principles for the restoration of the Korean

church should be transmitted both to the local Presbyterian Assemblies and to their branch churches; and 5) Bible colleges and seminaries should be rebuilt and re-opened in order to allow for the training of ministers.²⁹

Unfortunately, not all Korean Christian leaders welcomed such principles. At a week-long meeting of more than 200 pastors held at Wor Kok church in November 1945, Hyung-ryong Park presented the fundamental principles for the restoration of the Korean church. Although Park was not one of those who had been imprisoned over the Shinto question (he had withdrawn to Manchuria to open Dong Book [The Northeast Bible] College during the Japanese persecution), his status was regarded as highly as that of the anti-Shintoists.³⁰ Following his strong fundamentalist theological convictions, which he had learned at Old Princeton School, Park joined and led the conservative group of Christian leaders. However, some liberal pastors raised an objection. They argued that both the imprisoned Christians and those who had tried to maintain the church under the Japanese authorities were victims of the Japanese. Their point was that repentance and punishment were matters that should be considered in the context of one's personal relationship with God rather than be imposed by a self-justifying group of conservatives.³¹ Starting with such basic issues of Christian behaviour, the Korean church split sharply into conservative and liberal factions. The whole situation of controversy between such groups is as old as the Christian church itself. A similar schism occurred in the fourth century, when Donatists in North Africa split the church between those who were strictly opposed to contemporary anti-Christian edicts and those who surrendered the Scriptures to the Roman authorities.³² Early signs of the rival theological standpoints in Korea

²⁹ Yung-jae Kim, op. cit., pp. 237-238. See also Yang-sun Kim, *10 Years of Korean Church's Liberation*, op. cit., p. 45.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid., p. 238. See also Yang-sun Kim, op. cit., p. 46.

³² Donatism, which grew out of the teachings of Tertullian and Cyprian, regarded the church as a visible society of the elect which was separate from the secular world. Donatists also held the Scriptures to be God's unalterable and holy word; therefore to pour libations to the Roman emperor or to hand over Scriptures to be destroyed by Roman persecutors was to commit heresy. During the reign of Diocletian North Africa in particular experienced religious persecution between 303 and 305 AD. Some priests and bishops surrendered the Scriptures and church regalia in order to escape

can be found in the 1930s, when many scholars and theologians such as Hyuk NamKoong, Nak-joon Paik, Hyung-ryong Park, Jae-jun Kim, Yoon-sun Park, returned to the country after studying abroad.³³ This period is often counted as marking the beginning of self-government within the Korean church. Such a sudden shift in leadership had not allowed the Presbyterian church to depart naturally from the earlier teachings of the missionaries. Whereas the Methodist church had been relatively open to changes in theological thought, the Presbyterian church had preferred to maintain a policy of rejecting any modern interpretation of the Bible. Such rejection marked the leadership of Park in the 1930s.

While Park had studied theology at Old Princeton Theological School between 1923 and 1926 a heated theological battle had been raging in America between fundamentalism and modernism.³⁴ Many of the Old Princeton theologians had become involved in that controversy in order to defend their conservative faith. During his period of study, Park had learned fundamentalist traditions from his mentor Gresham Machen.³⁵ When he returned to Korea in 1927, after completing his doctoral course at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, the conflict between the two theological camps started to appear in the Korean church. Progressive theologians began to air their understanding of the Bible in Presbyterian churches. The theological tension was a direct result of the increasing number of Korean theologians who were studying in the West. Park believed that those who brought the new theology to the Korean church from abroad frequently became an obstacle to the progress of Korean theological education.³⁶ He went on to claim that "One of the greatest reasons why overseas study brings us theological apostasy is

execution. Donatists considered those who yielded to the Roman authorities to be apostates, and kept them outside the visible church unless they were rebaptized (*Evangelical Dictionary of Theology*, Walter A. Elwell ed., Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1984, pp. 329-330).

³³ Gil-sop Song, op. cit., p. 319.

³⁴ Yong-kyu Park, "Dr. Hyung-ryong Park and Fundamentalism" in *The Life and Thought of Dr. Hyung Nong Park*, Seoul: Chong Shin University Press, 1996, pp. 355-356.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 365.

³⁶ Hyung-ryong Park, *A Complete Works of Dr. Hyung-ryong Park XIV*, Seoul: The Korean Christian Educational Research Centre, 1978, p. 324.

because there are great changes of theology taking place abroad... Thus, the great confusion of ecclesiastical thoughts among Korean churches is the result of the influence of theological transition from overseas".³⁷

Although many conservative Christians, including Park himself, attempted to maintain the earlier missionary traditions, it was difficult for them to resist the theological influences coming from the West. This is why Park had to face the same issues that he had faced in America when he returned to Korea. The confrontation between the two trends in the 1930s not only marked the beginnings of a fundamental schism in the Korean church, but also the period when theology and Christian faith first seriously entered the political arena.

Until the period when almost all theological seminaries were closed, between 1938 and 1945, Park taught three subjects—Christian Apologetics, Theological Thought and Christian Ethics—at Pyung Yang Presbyterian College.³⁸ Theological controversy started with his encounter with certain theologians and biblical scholars who had become acquainted with the theologies of Karl Barth, Emil Brunner, Reinhold and Richard Niebuhr, Paul Tillich, and other modern theologians of the West. A consolidation of fundamentalist theology by conservative Christians under the leadership of Park, was established at this point, spurred by certain theological debates between the conservatives and newly emerging liberals.

In 1933, Hyuk NamKoong, the chief editor of *Shin Hak Ji Nam* ('Theological Thought', a traditional Presbyterian theological journal of Pyung Yang College), Jae-jun Kim, Chang-kun Song, and Pil-kun Chae became regular contributors³⁹ to the journal. For about a year no particular theological problems arose concerning the articles published within its pages. However, in 1935, Chang-kun Song's item entitled "A Dramatic Life", which offered a criticism of Korea's ecclesiastical

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Yong-kyu Park, op. cit., p. 141.

³⁹ Yong-kyu Park suggests that Hyuk Namkoong appointed these three theologians to be regular contributors to the theological journal since he knew that they were liberal and, he expected them to offer the Korean Presbyterian church an opportunity of learning a new way of approaching the Bible (Yong-kyu Park, op. cit., pp. 367-368).

world, ignited controversy. In his article Song wrote what he believed personally about the contemporary orthodox theologians, mysticists, pietists, and churchmen. Starting with the phrase 'orthodoxy is a rice cooker' (a metaphorical expression for a fool), Song described plainly the negative aspects of the orthodox Christians. He added, "People say that they need to hold revival meetings just to raise funds for constructing churches and rectories. They often cry out, 'O, Come Holy Spirit, dwell upon us...' But, this is my question to them. Do you think Holy Spirit is your private envoy?"⁴⁰

Park and a number of Presbyterian Assemblies raised questions about Song's paper. As a result he was dropped from the list of the contributors. From this first incident onwards the Korean Presbyterian church clung strictly to its fundamentalist traditions. Only theological articles and essays that were approved by the conservative theologians were likely to be published. Any attempt to go beyond the conservative theology of the early missionaries was considered to be harmful to the church. The conservatives believed that if they printed even a single word of liberalism they would slide into uncontrollable confusion and never recover from that whirlpool.

Another incident occurred in 1934 when Yong-ju Kim was accused of denying the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch.⁴¹ In order to analyse Yong-ju Kim's proposal a group of conservative theologians, including Park, was organised.⁴² Finally, at the 24th meeting of the General Presbyterian Assembly in 1935, they reported the following conclusion:

...As it has been explained earlier, the one who teaches that the Pentateuch was not written by Moses is, to a great extent, to be considered as the one who conspires to destroy the whole of the Pentateuch or, if not, then most parts of the Bible. To some extent, he is the one who ignores and violates the authority of the Bible and Christ,

⁴⁰ Gil-sop Song, op. cit., p. 320. See also Chang-kun Song, "A Dramatic Life" in *Shin Hak Ji Nam* (Theological Thought), May 1935, pp. 34-39.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 321. On the basis of biblical criticism, Yong-ju Kim expressed his doubt concerning the Mosaic authorship of the first five books of the Old Testament, and suggested the possibility of the compilation of the Pentateuch by a later generation (Taik-poo Chun, *The History of Church Development in Korea*, op. cit., p. 303).

⁴² Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. XIV*, op. cit., p. 352.

regarding the witness of the Pentateuch, of all other Old Testament books, of Jesus Christ, and of all other books of the New Testament as false testimony... Therefore, we, the Presbyterian church, which believes and teaches "the first article of the faith of Choson Presbyterian Assembly of Jesus" cannot accept him. Since such a person has infringed the very first article of our church faith, we shall refuse to recognise him as a minister of our denomination.⁴³

This stern action pushed Yong-ju Kim into a corner, and eventually led to him apologising to the church. The incident was closed with Yong-ju Kim's submission to the creed, but it remained in the minds of many Christians as an example and warning against any liberal tendency with regard to the Bible.

The same Presbyterian obstinacy prevailed over another case of progressive writing. As part of the commemoration of 50 years of the Methodist Mission in 1935, Hyun-gi Yu of the Methodist church translated the *Abingdon Bible Commentary* into Korean. While translating this commentary, some additional commentary works by Korean scholars were included alongside the translated works.⁴⁴ Those who helped in translating and editing of the commentary included Chang-kun Song, Jae-jun Kim, and Pil-kun Chae.⁴⁵ Having proved that most of the editors were liberal theologians and that the content of the commentary itself represented a liberal perspective, Park and Sun-ju Gil called the Presbyterian editors to account. With a strongly-worded resolution on behalf of the Chairman of *Hwang Hae Presbyterian Assembly*, the General Council made public the following decisions in September 1935 with regard to the new translation: "... we find this newly published Bible commentary out of sympathy with the views of our Presbyterian church. Therefore, we hereby decide not to subscribe to it under any circumstance, and ask each church connected with those who have edited the commentary, to examine their motives for participation, and to have them declare their wrong motives throughout the organization..."⁴⁶

⁴³ Gil-sop Song, op. cit., p. 321. See also *The 24th Minutes of Choson Presbyterian Assembly of Jesus*, Appendix, p. 84.

⁴⁴ Seung-hong Han, *Trends of the Korean Theological Thought Vol. 2*, op. cit., p. 96.

⁴⁵ Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. XIV*, op. cit., pp. 352-353.

⁴⁶ Seung-hong Han, op. cit., p. 96.

Following this declaration of the theological position of the Presbyterian Assembly, only one of the three editors, Pil-keun Chae, apologised for what he had done. The other two editors refused to yield to the General Council, for they believed that their action had not been harmful. To them it had never signified any violation of Christian doctrines. Chang-kun Song and other editors stated their unwillingness to apologise to a General Council which "abuses freedom of theology by its arbitrary decision".⁴⁷ This was the first collective rebellion against the conservative faith of the Korean Presbyterian church. Henceforth, relationships between liberal and fundamentalist theologians became as acute as the disagreement that existed between the Presbyterian and Methodist churches. Looked at from a fundamentalist perspective some Korean theologians believed that Christianity had become more of a social movement than a religious one in the West, and they considered every sign of modern thinking in the Korean church as representing the progress of secularism. More precisely, fundamentalist theologians had no wish to alter their theology in any way that would show sympathy for the social, political and religious transformations of the time. On the other hand, liberals had begun to apply the political hermeneutics of the Bible to national crises, such as colonialism, communism and the military dictatorship which often accompanied both. They talked of the possibility of co-existence between conservatism and liberalism within the Korean church, as had become the case in many Western Christian churches. However, the prevailing ecclesiastical power of conservatism discredited this idea, primarily because the conservatives did not want to see the Korean church assimilating secular modes of biblical thought, and secondly because they believed that modern intellectualism created a radical image of God forged out of human imagination, one which abandoned the traditional view of God.

Hyung-ryong Park and Sun-ju Gil continued to condemn the *One Volume Abingdon Bible Commentary* translation as a heretical work which, they believed, Korean Christians, particularly pastors, should avoid entirely. Not only were the

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 98.

words and teachings of liberalism denied by the authority of Presbyterian Council, but translations of modern theological books were similarly condemned. Despite a campaign to boycott the One Volume *Abingdon Bible Commentary* translation, it sold out very quickly.⁴⁸ As a countermeasure against the commentary, Park appealed to the General Council concerning the need to compile a new Bible commentary. Such a work would consolidate the standpoint of the fundamentalist theology within the Presbyterian church. The Council concurred and appointed him as chief editor of a new Bible Commentary on May 1935.⁴⁹ With twenty-five co-editors and two scribes, Park began to collect materials. At the 25th conference of the Presbyterian Assembly in 1935, on behalf of his committee members, Park reported as follows: "Since completing this Bible commentary is a gigantic undertaking which could only be done once in a hundred years, our committee members and editors are putting in their best efforts to accomplish the prime work, acknowledging the great amount of responsibility laid upon our shoulders..."⁵⁰

A theological controversy took place almost immediately when Park became indignant about the writings of the Barthian theologian, Jae-jun Kim. When Kim had been appointed as one of the contributors to *Shin Hak Ji Nam*, he had submitted an article criticising the infallibility of the Bible. Under the title of "A Study of Isaiah's Immanuel Prophecy" Kim had expressed both his disagreement with the verbal inspiration of the Scripture and his regrets about the interference of the early missionaries in the Korean church, a process which had established a subjective

⁴⁸ Gil-sop Song, op. cit., p. 323.

⁴⁹ Seung-hong Han, op. cit., p. 97. See also *The 25th Minutes of Choson Presbyterian Assembly of Jesus*, Appendix, p. 29.

⁵⁰ Ibid. During the 26th conference of the General Council, Park reported again on the progress of the commentary work. "In regard to the content of the commentary, we are aiming for it to be academic, critical, consistent, practical and, above all, to be a guide for the Christian faith. It is our hope that this commentary will establish the criterion for orthodox theology so that it will be the only standard for biblical interpretation among us. Hence, we ought to name this commentary 'Standard Biblical Commentary' (*The 26th Minutes of Choson Presbyterian Assembly of Jesus*, Appendix, p. 47). A commentary on the two books of the Old Testament, Psalms and Job, was published in 1937 by the author, Ahn-nyon Kwak (a.k.a. A. D. Clark) and Park's editing work (Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. XIV*, p. 353).

consciousness within the church.⁵¹ After a careful examination of Kim's article, Park decisively condemned his theological views as heretical. Due to the divergence of theological opinions between the two men, Kim was removed from the list of contributors by the ecclesiastical authority of the Council and was branded as a liberal theologian.⁵²

As soon he returned from America in the early 1930s, Kim had concentrated primarily on a study of the prophets. "The Immortality of the Soul Described in the Book of Job", "A Study of Isaiah's Immanuel Prophecy", "A Life and Prophecy of Amos", and "Jeremiah's Inner Life Seen in the Biographical Perspective" were the major fruits of this work.⁵³ His theological thought as reflected in these articles appeared liberal, autonomous, and prophetic in character. He asserted academic

⁵¹ Kyung-bae Min, *A History of the Korean Church*, op. cit., p. 412.

⁵² The present writer takes this incident and its particular time as the point of emergence of the theological controversy between fundamentalists and liberals. Park had not as yet identified his theology as fundamentalist, but his fundamentalism, learned from Gresham Machen, was already being explored in the 1930s in many ways. For instance, his militant defense of orthodox theology, including the key doctrine of biblical inerrancy, against Kim's higher criticism of the Bible shows that Park was already committed to a fundamentalist position. Furthermore, he had stated that "Fundamentalism is nothing but Christian orthodoxy... As orthodoxy is Christian, so is fundamentalism Christianity itself" (Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. XIII*, op. cit., 1981, p. 280). This shows that Park considered true Christianity to be essentially fundamentalist. Equally he believed that the faith and theology of the early Korean Protestant church was based on fundamentalism, although the term 'fundamentalist' was invented in America in 1920. Kyung-bae Min also suggests that "Park was a typical fundamentalist who perceived that Korean theology, on the whole, was not a creative work of the Korean theologians, rather it was an heritage of the apostolic tradition. This was the reason why Park firmly insisted on the inerrancy of the Bible and its literal interpretation" (Kyung-bae Min, *A History of the Korean Church*, op. cit., pp. 412-413). Based on the fact that Park was the follower of Gresham Machen, a leader of the conservative camp at Old Princeton Seminary and one whose theology was obviously fundamentalist, Kyung Min labelled Park a typical fundamentalist. Kyung-oak Chung, the professor of Seoul Methodist Seminary in Korea at this time, also identified Park as a fundamentalist in 1938. During the very difficult years in which Shintoism became an important issue in the Korean church, Chung mentioned that Park was "one of the few who struggled to preserve the verbal inspiration and literal interpretation of the Bible. As he was a professed Calvinist, Park was the spokesperson of American fundamentalism" (Yong-kyu Park, *The Life and Thought of Dr. Hyung Nong Park*, op. cit., pp. 332-333). Kyung-oak Chung was well known as a pioneer of liberal theology in the Korean church. He studied systematic theology at the Garrett Seminary. Through his mentor, Franklin Roll, Chung was introduced to the religious experience of Schleiermacher, the ethics of Ritschl, and the theological ideas of Immanuel Kant and Karl Barth. In the early 1930s, Chung published Barthian theology in the journal *Christian World* and introduced Dibelius and Bultmann's Form Criticism. One of his theological creeds was "keeping the faith in a conservative form and studying theology in a free condition" (Gil-sop Song, *History of Theological Thought in Korea*, op. cit., pp. 331-334).

freedom and the necessity for the Korean church to become aware of its own distinct identity. While introducing political theology, Kim denounced Park's views as legalistic and orthodox. In a study of Amos he stated that the prophet was "one who desired all aspects of life, including politics, economy, religion, and education, to be purely established on 'the righteousness of God'".⁵⁴ Bringing and applying the prophetic passion of Amos to the context of the Korean church, Kim proposed a path for that church to follow: "Now, as far as this unrighteous generation is concerned, we must be envious of the prophet's bravery, and must declare, struggle, and yield our lives for the righteousness of Christ, which fulfilled the righteousness of the prophet".⁵⁵

Those who followed Jae-jun Kim proclaimed the relevance of his theology to Korean society. They reacted against Park's accusations of heresy. Following the split between those who had yielded to Shintoism and those who had not, the conservative camp now split over the new contention between fundamentalism and liberalism. As a result, liberals broke from the fundamentalist Presbyterian Assembly of Jesus (*Ye Jang*) and started their own church under the name of the Presbyterian Assembly of Christ (*Ki Jang*). Most of the liberal theologians become attached to Cho Son Seminary, which was established in 1946.⁵⁶

As one of the professors at Cho Son Seminary in the 1970s, Jae-jun Kim stated as his five educational aims: 1) to achieve a theology that is world-wide; 2) to provide a congenial atmosphere for free study; 3) to focus on biblical studies; 4) to offer an understanding of worship; and 5) to encourage students to develop a critical mind.⁵⁷ In keeping with his own theological views, Kim taught students both biblical criticism and liberation theology. He led his students to follow a theology of subjective participation in history. He emphasised that Christianity is not simply confined to the salvation of the human soul, but that it also deals with the salvation

⁵³ Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. XIV*, op. cit., p. 350.

⁵⁴ Yong-je Han, *100 Years of Korean Church's Growth*, op. cit., p. 62.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Yong-kyu Park, op. cit., pp. 373, 380.

of all humanity, both human society and history. The exodus of the Israelites was seen as a manifestation of the saving grace of God; the means employed by God in order to liberate them as a people. A theology of subjective participation in history is, then, clearly a systematized theology which is derived from man's active participation in God's salvation work.⁵⁸ The core of Kim's theology was centred around political and liberation theology in the Third World. He wrote the following words in explanation of his theological point:⁵⁹

We are now commanded by God to partake in constructing a redeeming work of Christ in our Korean history, to transform its history into the history of the Kingdom of Heaven... As Christ has given up a treasure house and became flesh to offer his blood for the sake of this history, the reason for our being in this history is not to escape from reality, but to dedicate our whole being to the redeeming consciousness of Christ. Thus, we shall put our best efforts to make the mind of Christ the fundamental principle for every aspect of politics, economy, culture, and education.⁶⁰

He went further to deal with the way in which the Korean church had adopted at its point of origin a system of orthodox theology. Its core, he pointed out, was an extreme "other worldliness that regards life in this world as a period of grace before hell".⁶¹ Portraying God as the main character of a drama, who underwent a great death for the sake of the world, Kim insisted that there could be no way for Christians to remain passive. They had to take part in the drama. All were called upon to perform in the drama and to discover the way of the cross as their life progressed. Thus, only when Christians boldly criticised the reality of their history from the standpoint of divine salvation would they accomplish a redemptive society in the presence of evil.⁶²

During the first period of his teaching many students from conservative Christian backgrounds harboured antipathy towards Kim's liberal teachings. On April 17, 1947, fifty-one students at Cho Son Seminary submitted a petition to the

⁵⁷ Taik-poo Chun, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

⁵⁸ Yong-je Han, *100 Years of Korean Church's Growth*, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

⁵⁹ Published in *Ship Ja Kun* (Crusade), which Kim edited from 1937 to 1957.

⁶⁰ Yong-je Han, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 63.

Presbyterian General Assembly opposing liberal theological teaching. These fifty-one students showed no interest in Kim's educational motto, 'conservative faith but liberal theology'.⁶³ They said that the "Biblical view, church dogmatics, and the ignorance of some radical students concerning the physical resurrection of believers, the imminence of Christ's Second Coming, Divine Judgment, the virgin birth of Jesus, the doctrine of the Trinity and observance of the Lord's day" were crucial theological problems at Cho Son Seminary.⁶⁴

With regard to this matter Kim pleaded for his educational motto and submitted a written statement of his view of the Bible and his theological doctrines.⁶⁵ He explained that the students' petition was the consequence of their misunderstanding of his theological lectures.⁶⁶ However, after reviewing the students' petition, Park acknowledged its validity. He argued that "the written statement of Jae-jun Kim has proved that his biblical view was based on higher criticism and his doctrine was constructed on the basis of new theological dogmatism".⁶⁷ This prompted a number of fundamentalist leaders in 1948 to form a committee to deal with theological problems, and they submitted a proposal to the General Council requesting a new

⁶³ Yang-sun Kim, *10 Years of Korean Church's Liberation*, op. cit., pp. 216-217.

⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 217-222.

⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 225-226.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 225.

⁶⁷ Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. XIV*, op. cit., pp. 375-377. Park criticises Kim's theology which is described in a written statement of three parts: his view of the Bible, Christian doctrines, and God or Religion. First, Park does not agree with what Kim says about his acknowledgment of the authority of the Bible, because Kim uses higher criticism as a tool to understand the whole meaning of the Bible. Park finds absurd Kim's denial of the traditional views of the biblical authors, of places, of written methods by using critical analyses of science and history, when he still says they do not affect the integrity of the Bible as the word of God. Furthermore, he thinks that Kim's affirmation of the Bible is fallible, especially when Kim claims that the Bible contains some myths and, thus, the beginning of "real" history in the Old Testament starts with Abraham. Secondly, in regard to the matter of doctrine, Park raises objections to Kim's understanding that the Bible was not written in order to create doctrines. Park explains that the establishing of doctrines on the basis of the NT and OT was what the orthodox church had been doing from the very beginning. In relation to predestination, Park points out Kim's indifference to this particular doctrine. Kim mentions that "Predestination ultimately returns to fatalism." From this phrase, Park assumes that Kim does not agree with Calvin's doctrine of predestination. Finally, Park states that Kim does not respond sufficiently to the questions the students asked him about his views about God and religion. However, Park assumes that Kim's view of God and religion is no different from that of contemporary Bible critics and religious evolutionists.

board of trustees and professors for Cho Son Seminary. However, the General Council initially rejected this petition, proposing instead that Kim should study abroad for one year and that during his absence conservative theologians, including Park, should fill the vacancy. The Council passed this motion.⁶⁸ Regardless of the decision by the General Council to send Kim abroad, Cho Son Seminary did not accept it, and that in turn caused the original fifty-one students to demonstrate against the seminary. The seminary expressed its wish to readmit the conservative students, but many of them chose to leave.⁶⁹

In his written statement, Kim had not only clarified his theological position, but had also included his view of conservative orthodox fundamentalism. The following is the paragraph in which Kim most openly criticised the conservative Presbyterian Assembly of Ye Jang:

I believe all of you would be able to identify the group of militant discontent which arose in the late 19th century from Princeton Seminary, the place commonly known as the centre of conservative theology. It is likely that this group was led by disciples of Hodges and Warfield, such as Gresham Machen. They professed the authority of the Bible as a revealed doctrine, to be the essence of Christianity, and they based the authority of the Bible upon the inerrancy of the Scripture, based on its verbal inspiration. Hence, their goal was to remove anyone who opposed such beliefs from the ecclesiastical world... As far as I know, this group took whatever means were available to expand their power. Under the pretense of a so-called 'Defense of Truth', they ventured to pursue immoral behaviour. The 'truth' they referred to was not 'the person of Jesus Christ himself', but a system of ideas which they perceived themselves to be true. To them, Christianity was a religion of ideas rather than a religion of personality, and a religion of books rather than a religion of a divine being. They regarded themselves as the guardians of God, and the appointed judges of the church. Thus, they made it their business to measure other peoples' faiths, according to their own faith standard. Were not the Pharisees of the age of Christ similar to these people?⁷⁰

The theological controversy between conservatism and liberalism, or, more precisely, between Hyung-ryong Park and Jae-jun Kim, was intense and turned out to be as bad as the earlier polarization between fundamentalism and modernism in America. Neither side had any intention of capitulating to the other. In reply to

⁶⁸ Taik-poo Chun, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

Park's labelling of Kim as a 'liberal', Kim replied, "if I am a liberal, then it must be because I am always pursuing the truth in an atmosphere of freedom. But, if it means to be the kind of liberal described in Gresham Machen's book, *Christianity and Liberalism*, then, I am afraid that I am not one of that kind".⁷¹

The split which took place in 1953 between fundamentalism (*Ye Jang*) and liberalism (*Ki Jang*) was not a complete separation of conservatives from liberals. The separation of Cho Son Seminary from the Presbyterian General Assembly of Jesus did not lead to the exclusion of all liberals. The rise of liberal Christianity was caused by other factors apart from the efforts of the Korean liberal theologians. A number of Korean delegates from NCC (Korean National Christian Council) participated in a meeting of the WCC (World Council of Churches) in August 1948 in Amsterdam. Being sympathetic to the mission tasks directed by the WCC, the NCC leaders engaged actively in publishing a common hymnary, Sunday School text-books and other Christian literature. They also contributed to the unification of the Korean church by leading various joint events, such as an Easter Service and activities commemorating the March the First Independence Movement.⁷² Despite its considerable efforts towards ecumenism in the Korean church, however, the NCC movement was later regarded as a liberal phenomenon. Another opportunity for the Korean church to debate with liberalism came when Emil Brunner and John Mckay, who were known as neo-orthodox theologians, visited Korea in 1949, to encourage Jae-jun Kim and Cho Son Seminary.⁷³ In addition, most foreign mission agencies in Korea favored the WCC and the ecumenical movement, in accordance with the theological tendencies of their own churches in America, Canada, and Australia. Hence most institutions and organisations involved in education, medicine, literature and charity, which were run by mission agencies, were

⁷⁰ Yang-sun Kim, *10 Years of Korean Church's Liberation*, op. cit., pp. 234-236.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 242.

⁷² Taik-poo Chun, op. cit., p. 320.

⁷³ Yong-kyu Park, op. cit., p. 376.

sympathetic towards liberalism.⁷⁴ Since it was not easy for fundamentalist groups to expel all liberals from their Council, some liberal leaders were allowed to remain in the Presbyterian General Assembly of Jesus for the sake of ecclesiastical stability.

Theological tension between fundamentalism and liberalism grew steadily. The main split within the largest Presbyterian fundamentalist group (Presbyterian Assembly of Jesus) took place in 1959. *Hap Dong* (NAE- National Association of Evangelical or Fundamentalist Presbyterians) found that the main cause of that split was participation by some Presbyterian churches in the WCC and NCC movement. On the other hand, *Tong Hap* (ecumenical movement) theologians laid the blame for the split on Park's non-professional administration.⁷⁵ Park, who sided with *Hap Dong* (NAE), stated. "At that time, I had been resigned from the faculty for a year and half. As for the reason for my resignation the matter of administrative work was the immediate cause, but it seems to me that the antipathy of missionaries to orthodox theology was the internal cause of the split. In fact, while the early missionaries led the old Pyung Yang Seminary to adopt their Puritan orthodox theology, the ecumenical liberalism of the later missionaries inclined the Presbyterian seminaries to the left".⁷⁶

Since its origins in 1884, the Korean Presbyterian church had maintained a fundamentalist theology and faith, and conservative Christians viewed fundamentalism as orthodox (or 'true') Christianity. Since it was commonly perceived that there was no absolute prototype of faith for Christian churches, the Korean church had come to acknowledge the necessity of meeting the theological needs of the time by embracing political theology. Fundamentalist theology, which was held by Park, centred around the doctrines of heaven, hell, original sin, pre-millennialism, and literal interpretation of the Bible, which had been the

⁷⁴ Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. XIV*, op. cit., p. 356.

⁷⁵ Kyung-bae Min, *A History of the Korean Church*, op. cit., p. 481.

⁷⁶ Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. XIV*, op. cit., p. 357.

predominant faith of the Korean church in the 1930s.⁷⁷ However, the emergence of theological liberalism in the mid 1930s, which had challenged the inerrancy of the Bible through biblical criticism, had brought great changes to the Korean ecclesiastical world.

Striking in all this is the assumption that the Korean church ought not to receive any other form of theology apart from the one already possessed by the majority of Christians. Traditional societies have always rejected the values of new systems and ideas, condemning the new elements as impure. The Korean church had been proud of keeping its faith in harmony despite adversity. However, an individual understanding of life could never be expressed in just one particular way. This exemplifies the biblical teaching to be wary of judging others (James 4:11-12). However, this did not of itself suggest that the fundamentalists defence of their faith against liberalism was irrelevant. A fundamentalist might have had good reasons for rejecting liberalism.

However, neither fundamentalists nor liberals, who both possessed a vocation for ministry, should have tried to set themselves above the other or acted in an authoritarian manner towards the other. A newly emerging tendency of liberalism should have approached conservative Christianity with composure. But instead,

⁷⁷ Kwang-sun Suh, "Korean Christianity and Anti-intellectualism" in *Korean Christianity and Third World*, Seoul: Pulpit, 1981, pp. 173-175. Until the mid 1930s, the fundamentalist character of Presbyterian theology represented the whole theological world of Korea. However, from the middle of the 1930s, Methodist theologians and pastors opened up academic freedom, though many of them still held an evangelical faith. Theological liberalism was imported by both Presbyterian and Methodist Korean scholars who studied abroad. The church leaders of that time tended to hold to 'pious' and 'evangelical' Christianity without giving any specific value to dogma. They were deficient in theological knowledge and thus failed to harmonise their knowledge with their faith. Among the Methodist churches the leaders with liberal theological backgrounds had the most impact and did not face any trouble from fundamentalist Methodist pastors. This was able to happen since Methodists were less concerned about dogma than were Presbyterians. By contrast, Presbyterians put theological liberalism under critical pressure in order to exterminate it. Two Presbyterian pastors, Young-ju Kim and Choon-bae Kim, were condemned because of their new thoughts about theological development. Young-ju Kim expressed the suspicion that Moses may not have been the author of Genesis, and Choon Kim wrote about woman's rights in the church. He stated that I Cor. 14:34 - "Women should remain silent in the churches. They are not allow to speak, but must be submissive, as the law says."-- should be understood as a discipline only relevant to the local church of that time, and therefore, not applicable to any women in today's church (Yang-sun Kim, *A Study of the History of the Korean Church*, p. 177).

with feelings of pride and a failure to control its temper, liberalism found itself unable to co-exist with fundamentalism. The polarisation and fragmentation of the Korean church might even have proved an alternative means of achieving the goal of the church's ministry so long as none of the parties had departed from fundamental Christian beliefs. Particular inherited doctrines may be seen as essential by specific denominations. However, what should have been avoided was the loss of genuine faith and the self-pride of legalism. The church has benefited most when it has exhibited a mature stance, sharing a common concern for the glory of God and for the salvation of the world.

There seem to be a number of reasons why tension still remains between the two theological camps in Korea. From the beginning of its critical opposition to fundamentalism to the present day, liberalism and ecumenical Presbyterianism have often been portrayed as progressive groups, who have brought secularism into church. This accurately shows that the spirit of the Korean church has always been fundamentalist, and that the majority of Korean Christians still possess a fundamentalist faith. More will be said, then, in the next chapter about the origins of fundamentalism, and about its acceptance by Park, a man who greatly influenced the Korean church. In particular the thesis will examine Park's acceptance of the aggressive American form of fundamentalism into his own 'five-point' doctrinal emphasis.

2. The Fundamentalist Theological Background of Hyung-ryong Park

2.1. The Formation of Hyung-ryong Park's Theology

In chapter one, I have examined the social and cultural background of Korean fundamentalism. This discussion provided an understanding of how Christianity, more specifically fundamentalist Christianity, was introduced and developed in Korea's cultural and religious settings. It particularly discussed what aspects of Korean culture corresponded to the fundamentalist mentality and how American missionaries' conservative theology became the foundation of Korean fundamentalism. Above all, it demonstrated the circumstances in which Korean fundamentalism emerged and the conservative theologians (especially Hyung-ryong Park) assumed fundamentalist positions during the fundamentalist-liberal controversy of the 1930s. This socio-cultural work centred on the theological characteristics of Korean fundamentalism between the 1880s and 1930s. This is to say that some Korean socio-cultural factors predisposed some Koreans towards the fundamentalist mentality, while the early foreign missionaries were the major shapers of Korean fundamentalist theology. In relation to this chapter, which focuses on how and by whom Korean fundamentalism was prompted to Korea's predominant movement of Christianity, a historico-theological description of Korean Christianity is useful. From this description, one can understand where Hyung-ryong Park was from and what sort of theological education he received.

Following Don Browning's method of the second sub-movement (historical theology), I now examine Hyung-ryong Park's personality and theological thought, since Park, along with early foreign missionaries, played a significant role in shaping Korean fundamentalism. My study of Hyung-ryong Park's theological background follows Browning's second sub-movement in that it asks why Park's dogmatic theology became a normative text, and how this theology met the need for theological praxis in contemporary Korean society. Browning's method serves as a

guide since it provides the principles upon which I can analyse the biblical and theological hermeneutics of Park's fundamentalism. In particular, it helps me to determine how deeply Park's fundamentalist theology became rooted in the Korean church and how his following of Old Princeton theology diverged from a larger practical hermeneutic enterprise. The fact that Park followed American fundamentalism and the Old Princeton theology indicates that his theology needs to be challenged in the light of Christian tradition and that the proponents of this theology may have to find a new way to lead Korean Christianity in this new century. The question of the extent to which Korean fundamentalism resembles Old Princeton theology requires further study of Park's fundamentalist background and his influence upon the Korean Presbyterian church. This will be shown in my discussion of Park's encounter with the theological tradition of Archibald Alexander, Charles Hodge, Benjamin Warfield and Gresham Machen.

A number of Korean theologians, including Eui-hwan Kim, Yong-kyu Park, and Seung-hong Han, have considered Park's acceptance of Old Princeton theology. Eui-hwan Kim regarded Park as a 'conservative theologian' who inherited Old Princeton Seminary's Reformed orthodox theology and brought it to Korea.¹ He understood that Park had maintained that the Old Princetonians' doctrine of inspiration/inerrancy of the Bible was the Reformed view of Scripture. He also discussed Park's tendency towards neo-fundamentalism,² including his criticism of the WCC's (World Council of Churches) ecumenism and his embracing of the ICC (International Council of Christian Churches) with its theological exclusivism. However, Kim did not consider Park's theology in relation to Gresham Machen's fundamentalist theology. He considered Park's theology to be closer to Carl McIntire's neo-fundamentalism than to Gresham Machen's fundamentalist position. I believe Kim's observation of Park's fundamentalist theology is too

¹ Eui-hwan Kim, "A Theology of Hyung-ryong Park" in *The Life and Thought of Dr. Hyung Nong Park*, ed. Yong-kyu Park, Seoul: Chong Shin University Press, 1996, p. 245.

narrow. As will be discussed later, I argue that Park's theology is very close to that of Machen because Park considered Machen's theology in depth and cited his work many times. The implication of this work is that Park's fundamentalism originate not in neo-fundamentalism but in the 1920s fundamentalism.

Young-kyu Park and Seung-hong Han also regarded Hyung-ryong Park as a defender of Calvinism and fundamentalism.³ They saw Park as both fundamentalist and Calvinist because he took a similar theological position to that of American fundamentalism, and moreover, because he understood fundamentalism to be the continuation of Calvinism. Yong-kyu Park focused his analysis of Hyung-ryong Park's fundamentalism on Park's militant defence of Calvinism against theological liberalism in Korea. Han, on the other hand, traced the roots of Park's fundamentalism back to the Old Princeton theological tradition. Without in-depth consideration of how much Park's theology resembled Old Princeton fundamentalism, Han focused on Old Princetonian conservative theology (which was inherited by Park) as the factor that identified Park's theology as fundamentalist. Although both Yong-kyu Park and Seung-hong Han correctly perceived the background to Park's theology, their studies lack theological analysis. Both of their analyses use an historical approach rather than theological one, in that they are mainly concerned with tracing Park's theological roots and educational background. A specific theological arguments or principles of Park's dogmatic theology which resemble those of the Old Princeton theology are missing in their work. Furthermore, in their analyses of Park's fundamentalism, Kim, Park and Han only briefly referred to *The Fundamentals* (a set of volumes which contained a statement of the fundamentals of Christianity). They overlooked the possibility that Park consulted *The Fundamentals* and did not pay much attention to the similarities

² Distinguishing neo-fundamentalism from 1920s fundamentalism (which largely followed Old Princeton theology), Kim defined it as theology which followed Carl McIntire's reasons for separation from the WCC.

³ Young-kyu Park, "Dr. Hyung-ryong Park and Fundamentalism" in *The Life and Thought of Dr. Hyung Nong Park*, op. cit., p. 340. See also Seung-hong Han, *Trends of the Korean Theological Thought Vol. 2*, Seoul: University of Presbyterian Assembly Press, 1996, p. 92.

between Park's theological approach and that of the writers of *The Fundamentals*. To correct this omission, I discuss Park's fundamentalist theology in relation to Old Princeton theology and *The Fundamentals*, while analysing their theological characteristics and methods.

This will be accomplished through, firstly, studying the background of American fundamentalism, which is very significant to the rise of Korean fundamentalism, and secondly, through analysing Park's theology in relation to that of some Princeton theologians and *The Fundamentals*. The primary reason to investigate Park's theology in the light of Princeton theology is that the latter played an important role during the fundamentalist-modernist controversy in America. As I shall show later in this chapter, Park learned his fundamentalist principles from Gresham Machen, a well-known spokesperson for American fundamentalism. The second reason to study Princeton theology along with Park's is that Korean fundamentalism bases its theology upon Old Princeton's Calvinism. I will identify questions which need to be addressed regarding the relationship between the Calvinism of the Old Princeton theologians and Calvin's actual writings. These questions will lead to consideration of whether Korean fundamentalism inherited genuine Calvinism from the Old Princetonians. As will be shown, Korean fundamentalism believed in biblical inerrancy following the Old Princetonians. Arguably, this was not a concept specifically followed by Calvin or wider Christian tradition. I will discuss why the doctrine of biblical inerrancy has been a critical issue among Christian scholars and how this doctrine relates to the inductive method and to Common Sense philosophy. This discussion will help us to show how much the fundamentalist view of biblical inerrancy differs from the Christian tradition. I will also examine how Korean fundamentalism's basing of biblical authority on biblical inerrancy corresponds to the Princetonians' view and differs from Calvin's understanding of biblical authority.

The second part of this chapter focuses on a series of volumes *The Fundamentals* which influenced Park significantly. Park's fundamentalist assertions

resemble some theological doctrines described in these volumes. Although 1920s American fundamentalism did not rely much on these volumes, there is evidence that Korean fundamentalism employed similar arguments to those of *The Fundamentals* over the 'five-point' doctrinal statements. Harriet Harris, in her recently published *Fundamentalism and Evangelicals*, indicates that *The Fundamentals* have been considered by Norman Furniss (1954) to expatiate on the 'five-point' doctrine.⁴ She argues that to see the beginnings of American fundamentalism in *The Fundamentals* is misleading, because they did not present the five points as systematically as some theologians have thought. To support this idea, she stresses that "about a third of the articles dealt with scripture, another third concerned traditional doctrines, and the rest comprised attacks on Darwinism, refutations of particular cults, writings on missions, and personal testimonies".⁵ The fact that the volumes contained various issues related to Christianity shows that the articles were not written to affirm the five-point doctrine. It is incorrect to assume that the volumes gave American fundamentalism impetus to structure the five-point doctrine, when one considers that the volumes were "moderate in style and irenic in intention".⁶ Although this is true of American fundamentalism, I argue that Korean fundamentalism is largely influenced by these volumes because Hyung-ryong Park relied on them when explaining his fundamentalist points since he thought that they were published as a defence of 'historical' Christianity against modernism.⁷ Hence, I will analyse Park's 'five-point' doctrine in relation to *The Fundamentals* and note that Korean fundamentalism also structured itself on the basic arguments of these volumes.

⁴ Harriet Harris, *Fundamentalism and Evangelicals*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998, p. 26.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Hyung-ryong Park, *A Complete Works of Dr. Hyung-ryong Park Vol. XIII*, Seoul: Korean Christian Education Research Centre, 1978, p. 278.

2.1.1. The Early Life of Hyung-ryong Park

It is helpful to briefly discuss Hyung-ryong Park's early life and education background, in order to understand how he became Christian and who motivated him to go to Old Princeton Seminary. This will show that Park's fundamentalist theology was not incidental but his early Christian experiences were of a sort to provide the soil from which his later fundamentalist tendencies would grow.

Hyung-ryong Park was born on March 28, 1897 and was brought up in the city of Pyuk Dong in northern Korea.⁸ While Protestant missionary work was still in its early years, he was taught Christianity by his mother, a woman whose personality was described as gentle and modest.⁹ Although his interest in Christianity grew steadily during his youth, his opportunities to express his beliefs were limited. Living in a small town far from any large city, Park had few opportunities to learn about Christianity in an academic sense. However, having been greatly influenced by Yik-doo Kim, a Presbyterian minister, he became more involved in the Christian religion, and was baptised at Pyuk Dong Church.¹⁰ Having become acquainted with and influenced by foreign missionaries, Park entered secondary school in Syen Chun city.¹¹ Although Syen Chun was not a big city, it was well-known for being "largely influenced by the gospel of Christianity".¹² Being strongly influenced by the missionary teachers in his school, Park became a sincere Christian. After finishing secondary school in 1916, he enrolled in Pyung Yang Seung Sil Professional School and graduated in 1920. While at Seung Sil School, Park was selected as a public speaker at a provincial lecture. The Japanese authorities took exception to one of his manuscripts, because of its nationalist learnings. As a result he was arrested and imprisoned for ten months.¹³

⁸ Aaron Park, "The Life and Theology of Dr. Hyung-ryong Park" in *The Life and Thought of Dr. Hyung Nong Park*, op. cit., p. 139.

⁹ Seung-hong Han, *Trends of the Korean Theological Thought Vol. 2*, op. cit., p. 84.

¹⁰ Aaron Park, op. cit., p. 139.

¹¹ Hee-bo Kim, "Chong Shin and Hyung-ryong Park" in *The Life and Thought of Dr. Hyung Nong Park*, op. cit., p. 159.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Seung-hong Han, op. cit., p. 85.

Following his graduation, Park enrolled for a BA degree at the University of Nanking in China and then went to America for further study. In 1923 he enrolled at Princeton Theological Seminary and completed his bachelor's program in three years.¹⁴ Park actually intended to go elsewhere, but Stanley Soltau (a missionary teacher) persuaded him to enter Princeton Theological Seminary, from which Soltau himself had graduated.¹⁵ While he was working on his Master's program at the same school, he studied the Presbyterian theology of Charles Hodge and B. B. Warfield.¹⁶ Above all, Park learnt a lot from his mentor, Gresham Machen, whose theology was more defensive¹⁷ in character than most of his contemporaries. The year after he graduated from Princeton Seminary, he commenced work for a doctorate at the Southern Baptist Seminary in Kentucky.¹⁸ He finished his research in 1929 and returned to Korea, where he completed his dissertation in 1932.¹⁹

The decision to focus in his doctoral thesis upon systematic theology, especially the area of theological apologetics, was taken, *en route* to America, when he came across a booklet, *Hak Ji Kwang*. This booklet was published by Korean students studying in Japan. As he was reading one of the essays, "An Atheist's View of Religion" which he thought was absurd, he realised that this was a suitable subject for his studies in America.²⁰

After returning from America in 1929, Park was ordained as a minister of San-Jung-Hyun church in Pyung-Yang. He also began teaching as a lecturer at Pyung

¹⁴ Aaron Park, op. cit., p. 140.

¹⁵ Stanely T. Soltau, *The Life and Thought of Dr. Hyung Nong Park*, op. cit., 1996, p. 171.

¹⁶ Aaron Park, op. cit., p. 140.

¹⁷ Machen's theology was more defensive than his predecessors in the sense that he took a major role in the fundamentalist-Modernist controversy in the 1920s, and that he reconfirmed the traditional Calvinist understanding of biblical doctrines in very systematic ways, especially doctrines such as biblical inerrancy, the virgin birth of Christ, the substitutionary atonement of Christ's death, his bodily resurrection, and the historicity of the miracles recorded in Scripture. William Selden wrote that "Machen considered that the most honest and responsible solution to the theological division in the church would be for the liberals to admit their apostasy, withdraw, and even join the Unitarians" (William K. Selden, *Princeton Theological Seminary: A Narrative History 1812-1992*, Princeton University Press, 1992, p. 92).

¹⁸ Yong Kyu Park ed., "The Background of Hyung Yong Park" in *The Life and Thought of Dr. Hyung Nong Park*, Seoul: Chong Shin University Press, 1996, pp. 9-10.

¹⁹ Aaron Park, op. cit., p. 140.

Yang Presbyterian Theological Seminary.²¹ Whilst there he published his doctoral dissertation in the journal *Shin Hak Ji Nam*. In 1931, as professor at the Pyung Yang Presbyterian Theological Seminary, he began teaching Christian Apologetics, Theological Controversy and Christian Ethics. In November 1935, he became the chairperson of the Bible Commentary Committee. During his chairmanship he compiled and published nine Bible commentaries.²²

On June 1, 1938, due to religious persecution by the Japanese, Pyung Yang Seminary was forced to terminate its theological courses. In the mean time, Park went to Japan, due to the pressure of Shintoism in Korea, and continued his Bible commentary work. It is worthwhile questioning why Park fled to Japan and how he was able to carry on his Bible commentary work there. It is not clear how he was able to go to Japan but one can suppose that Park found safety from religious persecution there since Japan had no particular restrictions upon its indigenous churches.²³ In 1942, Park fled to Manchuria to teach theological students at Manchuria Seminary, finally returning to Pusan Ko Ryo Seminary in Korea around December 1947 following the end of the Japanese occupation. In regards to Park's work in Manchuria, Stanley Soltau, a missionary in Korea who kept in touch with Park, stated:

During the very difficult years in which the Shinto Shrine problem became so acute in Korea and the war that followed, Henry [Hyung-ryong Park] went up into Manchuria, where he taught young Korean men in theology and in the Bible. He was soon recognized as one of the outstanding Christian scholars in the country and greatly used of the Lord in the training of young men in the word of God.²⁴

A few years later, he left Ko Ryo Seminary due to theological differences with the Ko Ryo theologians and established a Bible college in Seoul. This college is now known as Chong Shin Presbyterian General Assembly Theological Seminary.²⁵

²⁰ Yong-kyu Park, op. cit., p. 10.

²¹ Aaron Park, op. cit., p. 140.

²² Yong-kyu Park, op. cit., p. 11.

²³ F. A. McKenzie, *Korea's Fight for Freedom*, New York: AMS Press, 1920, pp. 308-314.

²⁴ Stanely T. Soltau, *The Life and Thought of Dr. Hyung Nong Park*, op. cit., p. 178.

²⁵ Yong-kyu Park, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

2.1.2. Hyung-ryong Park and the Old Princeton Theological Seminary

Understanding Hyung-ryong Park in close connection with his relation to Princeton theology and American theological atmosphere of the 1920s gets to the heart of what makes this study useful. The fact that Park studied under Machen during the fundamentalist-modernist controversy in the 1920s means that Park must have observed the Old Princetonian fundamentalist position and that he was likely to have been influenced by the fundamentalist movement while he was in America. So I discuss here firstly, the characteristics of Old Princeton seminary and its major role in the fundamentalist movement. This will be achieved through examining the Princetonians' teachings of the doctrine of biblical inerrancy and this doctrine's rational and philosophical background. Secondly, I describe the fundamentalist-modernist controversy in America. Here, along with two sub-points (various definitions of the term 'fundamentalism' and fundamentalism's hostility to modernism and the Christianity of modernism), I specifically discuss how American fundamentalism, as a coalition of diverse evangelical movements (such as the premillennial dispensationalist, the Keswick Holiness movement and the Old Princeton Presbyterians) theologically and culturally faced up to modernism (that is, biblical criticism, Darwinism, etc.). Defining the term 'fundamentalism' will be achieved chiefly through discussing the understandings of the movement of such scholars as George Marsden, Harriet Harris, Van Harvey, James Barr, Ed Dodson, Ed Hindson, Jerry Falwell, Lionel Caplan, and Ernest Sandeen. A careful examination of these scholars, who are of different backgrounds, prevents sweeping and general judgment about fundamentalism. It also helps in discerning which definitions are closest to and which are furthest from the actual movement, at the same time as comparing them with each other. The major purposes of defining the term are to demonstrate the link between diverse American fundamentalism and Korean fundamentalism, and to show how those movements were similar to each other as well as how they differ. In the discussion "A Strong Hostility to Modernism

and the Christianity of Modernism”, I refer to the modernist tendency, the premillennial and holiness movements as the factors which gave American fundamentalism its impetus. This discussion includes an analysis of the innovative and negative characteristics of American fundamentalism. Thirdly, I present the fundamentalist-Calvinist theologies of such Princeton theologians as A. Alexander, C. Hodge, B. Warfield, and G. Machen. Park had been greatly influenced by these theologians, as will be shown by comparing and analysing their theologies. I will be dealing with major philosophical and theological principles of Princetonians—these led Park to become fundamentalist-Calvinist. One of the critical issues at stake is the Princetonian teaching that the doctrine of biblical inerrancy is part of the Christian heritage. This doctrine, I maintain, has diverged from Christian tradition since it is based on inductive method and Common Sense philosophy which place reason over faith. I will further discuss how the Princetonians’ inductive method prompted Park to believe that biblical inerrancy was part of orthodox faith.

2.1.2.1. The Old Princeton Seminary and Its Major Role in the Fundamentalist Movement

Hyung-ryong Park has been known as the ‘Machen of Korea’ among Protestant Christians. This is because he was a student of Gresham Machen and because he followed a very similar theology to that of Machen. As noted previously, Park studied theology at Princeton seminary from 1923 to 1927, a time when that particular seminary played a major role in the defence of American conservatism against modernism. What characterised this seminary as a leading institution of conservatism or, more specifically fundamentalism, is its strong position on biblical authority (for most Old Princeton theologians) and on some fundamental Christian doctrines (especially in Gresham Machen’s case).

In discussing the Old Princetonian view of biblical authority, it is essential to refer to their formulation of the doctrine of biblical inerrancy. In regard to Old Princetonians’ ‘high’ view of the Bible, one should note that their views were partly

based on Scottish Common Sense Philosophy.²⁶ Briefly, this philosophy teaches that humans perceive the outside world directly rather than through mental ideas of the world. In a similar manner, the Princetonians argued that anyone can understand the Bible because "basic truths are much the same for all persons in all times and places".²⁷ This presupposition by the Princetonians is important in understanding why they became so preoccupied with the inerrancy of the Bible. One of the theological opinions that the Princeton seminary held during the time of controversy was a belief in "the inspired and infallible authority of the Bible".²⁸ This is to say that the Bible, being inspired, can no way be erroneous. This assertion did not surprise, although it was fairly a new idea, to American Protestant Christians, since they considered the Bible to be the primary source for the ideas that created American culture. In this respect, Princetonians' interpretation of the Bible in the light of Common Sense Philosophy was a sure foundation for the rational and intellectual confirmation of the truths of the Bible and the Christian life.²⁹

Although some Princeton theologians assumed that the discoveries of natural science and 'philological and literary criticism of the text' could be used to elucidate the Bible, they declared that they believed that "the proper responsibility of the theologian [was] to interpret the Bible out of itself".³⁰ Giving some credit to the role of faith, but more to that of reason, the Princetonians maintained that humans are constituted to be able to acknowledge the truths of the Bible. This suggests that Old Princetonians believed that anyone who reads the Bible will

²⁶ George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1980, pp. 110-114. Harris comments that Scottish Common Sense Philosophy has influenced fundamentalist thought in general rather than specific or comprehensive ways, because the philosophy does not lead in a fundamentalist direction, and because many fundamentalist characteristics resemble aspects of the Christian tradition which existed before that philosophy did (Harriet Harris, *Fundamentalism and Evangelicals*, op. cit., p. 13).

²⁷ Ibid., p. 111.

²⁸ Alasdair I. C. Heron, *A Century of Protestant Theology*, Guildford and London: Lutterworth Press, 1980, p. 66.

²⁹ George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, op. cit., p. 16.

³⁰ Alasdair I. C. Heron, op. cit., p. 66. Heron comments that the theology of Princeton Seminary, setting the Bible over the prevailing scientific methods, came to shape the theology, which resulted in similarities to the Calvinist systems of the seventeenth century.

normally approach it having a priori faith that the Bible is fully inspired and inerrant.³¹ This assumption that basic truths are the same for everyone in all times and places strengthened the Old Princetonians insistence upon biblical inerrancy. As will be discussed later, this doctrine was one of the major innovative characteristics of fundamentalism.³²

I have thus far introduced briefly the characteristics of the Old Princeton seminary, as a part of the wider group of fundamentalism. To understand the rise and distinctive character of American fundamentalism more clearly, along with the fact that Princeton theology contributed to a great extent to this movement, it is essential to study contemporary American society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Hence, I shall now examine the background of the fundamentalist-modernist controversy in America, while referring to various definitions of the term 'fundamentalism' and the rise of modernism in American society. In so doing, I shall draw upon the work of Ernest Sandeen, George Marsden, and Harriet Harris. The reason for engaging with these sources in discussing American fundamentalism is that Korean fundamentalism is intimately linked with it. Relying on Sandeen's supposition that millenarianism and Princeton theology characterise American fundamentalism, I will focus on how these features have influenced Korean fundamentalism's becoming theologically and culturally separatist. I shall also consider to what extent that Korean fundamentalist theology resembles Old Princetonian fundamentalism. Marsden's finding that original fundamentalism was a broad movement, which consisted of traditionalists and members of various strands of Christianity (such as revivalism, evangelicalism, Common Sense Philosophy, Keswick movement, and the Old Princeton's

³¹ George Marsden, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-111.

³² The Old Princeton School saw biblical inerrancy as the fundamental basis of Christianity. Its 'biblicism' (acceptance, on the basis of inspiration, of the Bible as literally true and rejection of biblical criticism as an anti-Christian approach which could damage divine teaching) gave others the impression that the School was the leading fundamentalist institution at this time. It should be noted that the Old Princeton theologians' emphasis upon biblical inerrancy was not true to Calvin's terminology and, hence, must be seen as a departure from original Calvinism. I will later demonstrate the nature and scope of the theology Park derived from the Old Princeton tradition.

innovative theology) is also fundamental to my research since it provides the link between American and Korean fundamentalism. Furthermore, Harris's definition of American fundamentalism, which comes from a philosophical and theological understanding of the Old Princetonians, has implications for my study. This is because it provides a theological source (i.e. Old Princetonians' rationalism-based theology) with which I can analyse the intimate relationship between Old Princeton theology and Korean fundamentalist-Calvinism. Both the Old Princetonians' and Korean fundamentalists' views of the biblical inerrancy doctrine will be extensively discussed in the light of Calvin's work. This is significant, not only because the doctrine of biblical inerrancy departed from Calvin's understanding of the Bible but also because this doctrine gives the impression that Christianity is meaningful only if Scripture is first proven to be error-free. Arguably, Calvin did not specifically use the term 'biblical inerrancy' and did not allude to such an idea in his work. It was the Old Princetonians' empirical rationalism (which uses 'evidence' to establish theological truth) which formulated and developed the doctrine of biblical inerrancy as a central concept of Christianity.

2.1.2.2. Fundamentalist and Modernist Controversy in America

Fundamentalism, as a coalition of diverse evangelical movement which emerged primarily to defend and fight for the value of traditional beliefs and evangelicalism against modernism, enormously affected American religious life in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. To those Americans who were affected by the movement, fundamentalism offered guiding principles which governed their sense of relationship with God and provided a basis for their personal morality and integrity. Although the term has widened in modern usage, its original theological propositions and ethical core became the defining characteristics of a large section of American Christianity in the early twentieth century.

Under what circumstances did fundamentalism come into existence? What significance does the term 'fundamentalism' convey? Who were the advocates of fundamentalism and of its opponent modernism, and why did the opponents not come to a theological reconciliation? It is the task of this section of the paper to answer these questions as accurately and carefully as possible, by outlining the theological background of some of the early Princeton theologians (whose work had a profound bearing on Park's theology) and their reasons for rejecting modernism and biblical criticism. This study is essential in order to address how fundamentalism of the 1920s diverged from both Calvinism and the broader Christian tradition. Moreover, it will help to show the difference and similarities between American and Korean fundamentalism. In the following section, I give some scholars' definitions of American fundamentalism and discuss why I only accept some of their definitions as reliable for this study.

2.1.2.2.1. Various definitions that are useful in understanding Fundamentalism

What is commonly called 'fundamentalism' is broadly understood as a movement which was started in the United States by a group of traditionalists and advocates of theologically innovative doctrines in order to restate traditional beliefs in the midst of cultural and social transformation. The definition of the term varies, depending upon the era and social background of the different theologians who used this term. Many, but not all, scholars who are particularly concerned with the subject show an unwillingness to suggest a single definition of the term. According to Lionel Caplan, fundamentalism implies an aggressive religious movement which, in coalition with conservative political forces, avoids negotiating with any form of political and religious liberalism.³³ Thus, in his understanding, such absolutist positions with regard to modern western culture are held by various groups of

³³ Lionel Caplan, "Introduction" in *Studies in Religious Fundamentalism*, New York: State University of New York Press, 1987, p. 1.

people such as conservative American Protestants, bellicose Jewish Orthodox communities in Israel, nationalist and separatist elements in Sikh Islamic religion, and militant groups of Hinduism which oppose foreign imperialism. Perceiving the movement as a socio-political phenomenon rather than a theological or historical one, Caplan suggests that fundamentalism is a radical right wing movement accompanied by religious and political ideas. So, for Caplan, not only Christianity but any religion or radical group of people of a 'fundamentalist' mentality is to be labelled as 'fundamentalist'. This understanding of fundamentalism is valid only when one applies the militant characteristic of fundamentalism to someone who fights for conservative ideas against other ideas. Hence, Caplan's definition is not appropriate for this study because it does not provide the historical and theological background to original fundamentalism.

In *A Handbook of Theological Terms*, Van Harvey defines the term fundamentalism as "a name that was attached to the viewpoint of those who, shortly after the turn of the century, resisted all liberal attempts to modify orthodox Protestant belief or to question the infallibility of the Bible in any respect".³⁴ Harvey basically understands fundamentalism as a continuation of orthodox Protestantism: this continuation arose to defend some Christian beliefs, including biblical inerrancy, against liberalism. He also states that these orthodox Protestant beliefs are defined as five essential doctrines which can be found in *The Fundamentals: A Testimony to Truth*.³⁵ Harvey's definition raises two questions in regard to whether or not the movement was innovative. Firstly, it is unclear how he defines 'orthodox Protestantism', a term which is open to subjective interpretation. Secondly, it is questionable whether the movement emerged with a fixed set of doctrines because it was a coalition of traditionalists, anti-evolutionists³⁶ and

³⁴ Van A. Harvey, *A Handbook of Theological Terms*, New York: Macmillan Co., 1964, p. 103.

³⁵ Ibid. The five essential doctrines he referred were: 1) the inerrancy of the Bible; 2) the Virgin Birth of Christ; 3) his substitutionary atonement; 4) his bodily resurrection; and 5) his bodily return in the Second Advent.

³⁶ Harris states that the anti-evolution crusaders existed as a separate group but allied themselves with fundamentalism (Harriet Harris, op. cit., pp. 19, 32).

various Protestant denominations with innovative theology. Moreover, *The Fundamentals* contain not simply five essential doctrines but various theological systems of Protestantism. It is possible that some fundamentalists had agreed upon some of the issues raised in *The Fundamentals*, but it is unlikely that the volumes motivated the rise of the movement. Hence, Harvey's definition has a few obstacles to deep engagement with historical fundamentalism. It perceives of fundamentalism as a continuation of orthodox Christianity but does not consider its innovative strands. Moreover, it wrongly attributes the 'five-point' doctrine to *The Fundamentals*. This is significant in so far as the Korean fundamentalism holds a similar view. As will be demonstrated, Korean fundamentalism regards original fundamentalism simply as a another form of orthodox Christianity.

Ed Dodson, Ed Hindson and Jerry Falwell present rather an affirmative definition of fundamentalism from the standpoint of their own fundamentalist backgrounds. They claim, "Fundamentalism was born out of a doctrinal controversy with liberalism.... Fundamentalism is the affirmation of Christian belief and a distinctively Christian life-style as opposed to the general secular society".³⁷ They find doctrine as the real issue in the fundamentalist movement. They agree with James Barr in believing that there is very little difference between the theological framework of fundamentalists and that of evangelicals. They believe fundamentalism maintains the same doctrines as evangelicalism. However, when they further state that "it is more correct to limit the definition of the doctrinal fundamentalism to the essential fundamentals that have been the heart of the movement for nearly a century now", they actually defined American fundamentalism in relation to a five-point doctrine which they listed as follows: 1) The inspiration and infallibility of Scripture; 2) the deity of Christ (including his virgin birth); 3) the substitutionary atonement of Christ's death; 4) the literal resurrection of Christ from the dead; and 5) the literal return of Christ in the Second

³⁷ Ed Dobson, Ed Hindson and Jerry Falwell, *The Fundamentalist Phenomenon*, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1981, p. 6.

Advent.³⁸ They have gone too far from the historical fact that fundamentalism was more than simply a five-point doctrinal statements. They might be right in saying that fundamentalists were sensitive about these doctrinal issues, but it should be noted that fundamentalists did not actually limit their movement by any set of doctrines. Instead, fundamentalists were a militant group of both traditionalists and various Protestants with innovative theology, who happened to be strongly dispensational and separatist in character, who battled against cultural modernism and theological liberalism. It is worthwhile examining later fundamentalists' (such as Falwell, Ed Hindson, and Ed Dodson) point of view about the early fundamentalist movement. This is because these modern-day fundamentalists took similar positions in the 1980s to that of early fundamentalism, in that they believed in biblical inerrancy and separatism, as did early fundamentalism.³⁹ The same concepts are held by today's Korean fundamentalism which continues to believe in the 'five-point' doctrine and in separation of the church from secular culture and society. Considering these tendencies which are found in both American and Korean fundamentalism, this study suggests some ways through which Korean fundamentalism may become relevant to contemporary Korean culture and society.

Other historians and theologians offer definitions that are closely related to the original fundamentalism. Ernest Sandeen defines the term as a historic millenarian movement that joined with conservative Calvinism to defend Protestant orthodoxy from evangelical liberalism and secularisation.⁴⁰ Sandeen approaches the term from a historical perspective and focuses more on the millenarian movement, which was founded by John Nelson Darby and eventually influenced the United States during the last half of the nineteenth century, as the origin of fundamentalism. He admits that this movement did not have any particular name for itself, but "possessed a

³⁸ Ibid., p. 7.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 114.

⁴⁰ Ernest R. Sandeen, "Toward a Historical Interpretation of the Roots of Fundamentalism" in *Church History* 36, March 1967, pp. 66-83; and Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970, pp. vii-xix.

distinct identity and all of the characteristics of a new sect".⁴¹ Sandeen identifies Protestant orthodoxy with conservative Calvinism. He states that fundamentalism arose from and found its meaning in conservative Calvinism. He also focuses on the millenarian movement, particularly dispensationalism, as a foundation of American fundamentalism. He is consistent with George Marsden and Harriet Harris in understanding the movement as premillennial and separatist, but he misses the wider cultural, theological and organisational roots of fundamentalism. Sandeen's work features in this study since it is concerned with fundamentalism's premillennialist eschatological view which influenced Korean fundamentalism. Also, his argument that Old Princeton theology played a significant role in the movement allows me to discuss Korean fundamentalism in relation to Old Princeton theology. However, as Marsden points out that Sandeen did not deal with the full context of American fundamentalism (this includes not only social but cultural and theological aspects), I focus on Korean fundamentalism in the perspectives of both its American fundamentalist theological roots and its own cultural settings.

In *Fundamentalism*, James Barr begins his discussion with a general picture of fundamentalism: it is "a) a very strong emphasis on the inerrancy of the Bible, the absence from it of any sort of error; b) a strong hostility to modern theology and to the methods, results and implications of modern critical study of the Bible; and c) an assurance that those who do not share their religious viewpoint are not really 'true Christians' at all".⁴² Barr's assessment of fundamentalism deals mainly with biblical authority and gives less attention to fundamentalism's background in the holiness and millenarian movements. To him, what characterises American fundamentalism as being different from 'real' evangelicalism is the former's rationalistic view of the Bible — this is displayed in the doctrine of biblical inerrancy. This view is also evident in Princeton theology. The fact that fundamentalists, including Old Princetonians, upheld biblical inspiration/inerrancy

⁴¹ Ibid., p. xv.

⁴² James Barr, *Fundamentalism*, London: SCM Press, 1977, p. 1.

as the supreme principle shows that they were concerned with the Bible being accurate. Without such accuracy, it could not be a valid guide to God's creation, will, etc. (This contrasts with the liberals' assertion that the Bible does not have to be completely error-free in order to be useful). To fundamentalists, Barr says, the Bible is error-free regardless of Jesus' testimony to the passages in Scripture, largely because believing in Scripture fits into the whole character of their religion. In other words, they believe in the truth of the whole Bible because, in their experiences, whatever the Bible teaches seems to bring them living experiences of God in Jesus Christ.⁴³

Barr further states: "Now fundamentalism is a bad word: the people to whom it is applied do not like to be so called. It is often felt to be a hostile and opprobrious term, suggesting narrowness, bigotry, obscurantism and sectarianism".⁴⁴ Barr acknowledges that some fundamentalists, who are aware of the negative implications of the term want to be called by different names. This indicates that some fundamentalists intentionally avoid criticism of themselves which is based on presupposed criteria. In regard to this Barr comments: "To talk about fundamentalism therefore is not the same as discussing an opinion under the term by which its own advocates would choose to express it: it involves discussing underlying attitudes and our attitude to these attitudes".⁴⁵ Barr suggests that interpretation of fundamentalism does not necessarily rely on fundamentalists' assertions. His concern with fundamentalism involves fundamentalists' distinctive characteristics (or mentality) and other interpreters' reactions to these particular characteristics. Barr's work on fundamentalism's biblical understanding is useful for this thesis because many Korean fundamentalist Christians base their biblical faith upon their religious experience. What is in the Bible, whether it be scientific or historical, is trustworthy and infallible to Korean fundamentalists insofar as it has been experienced in their lives. This thesis uses similar methods to Barr's to assess

⁴³ Ibid., p. 77.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 2.

the distinctive mentality and characteristics of Korean fundamentalism. This assessment is based on Korean fundamentalism's theological notions, as understood by both fundamentalist themselves and non-fundamentalist theologians.

George Marsden states that the term 'fundamentalist' was invented in America in 1920 to indicate militant evangelicals. However, in recent years it has been adopted by other militantly traditionalist religions.⁴⁶ What is clear, according to Marsden, about the term 'fundamentalist' is that it was first used by the conservative editor of the Baptist paper *The Watchman-Examiner*, to describe those who took a strong stance against modernism. Marsden's statement that the fundamentalist movement represented a coalition of both traditional and innovative strands within evangelicalism implies that fundamentalism had no particular doctrines to define itself (although it employed innovative theological doctrine such as biblical inerrancy) because the various denominations' traditionalists had different theological emphases. This makes sense when one considers that fundamentalists such as William J. Bryan, Gresham Machen, J. Frank Norris, and James M. Gray were from various theological and denominational backgrounds. However, it is not to be overlooked that they were united in opposing their common adversary, modernism. Marsden uses fundamentalists to refer to "evangelical Christians, close to the traditions of the dominant American revivalist establishment of the nineteenth century, who in the twentieth century militantly opposed both modernism in theology and cultural changes that modernism endorsed".⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ George Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism*, Michigan: Wm. Eerdmans Pub. Co. 1991, pp. 1, 57. The term 'fundamentalist' was first used in 1920, in the Baptist *Watchman-Examiner*, by Curtis Lee Laws to categorise those who were eager to "do battle royal for the Fundamentals". The term has often been used to refer to any American Protestant group or individual willing to fight against modernism and its by-products in theology. It is relevant to say two further things about fundamentalism at this point: 1) The label 'fundamentalist' was not a self-given name, but a name given by others and 2) Although the 'fundamentalist movement' did not appear before 1920, a 'fundamentalist phenomenon' was emerging among conservative Christians in the late nineteenth century, when biblical criticism (as performed by German critics) was beginning to be used by some American scholars.

⁴⁷ George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1980, p. 4.

Marsden's study on fundamentalism finds the roots of the movement in D. L. Moody's revivalism, the Common Sense Philosophy of the eighteenth century, and the Keswick Holiness movement, as well as premillennialism and the Old Princetonians' doctrine of biblical inerrancy. His definition of fundamentalism is reliable in the sense that most fundamentalists of the 1920s had been influenced by the American revivalist movement which centred its message upon biblical faith, morality, and the future Kingdom of God.⁴⁸ Also, the fact that the Old Princeton theologians' evidentialist apologetics and their adherence to the inerrancy doctrine, grounded upon the Common Sense Philosophy, shows that Marsden's definition is reliable.⁴⁹ Marsden's further point that fundamentalism was a coalition of "denominational traditionalists with theologically innovative dispensationalists and holiness advocates against modernism"⁵⁰ helps the purpose of this study which focuses on Korean fundamentalism's departure from original Calvinism. It is interesting to note that fundamentalism was not simply a single group of people with one theological background. Rather, it was a coalition of diverse evangelical movements, some of which were traditionalists and others of which were innovative strands. The complexity of the movement requires careful attention to define the term 'fundamentalism'. Some evangelicals, including traditionalists, identified themselves as fundamentalists because the movement implied anti-modernism. Others, such as the Premillennialists, the Holiness movement and the Princetonians, characterised the movement by emphasising the dispensationalist perspective of premillennial kingdom, separatism and biblical authority based on biblical inerrancy. The mixture of militancy against modernism with theologically innovative doctrines, which Marsden refers to as the distinctive characteristic of fundamentalism, is what shows the movement's divergence from the broader Christian tradition.

⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 32-39.

⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 110-116, 107.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 102.

More recently, in her book *Fundamentalism and Evangelicals*, Harriet Harris has described fundamentalism as a historical movement which came to prominence in the USA in the 1920s.⁵¹ Stating that empirical-rationalist framework of inductive reasoning practiced at Princeton seminary was the major cause of fundamentalism, Harris also claims that the doctrine of biblical inerrancy likewise arose from this fundamentalist empirical rationalism.⁵² She explains that the vagueness of the term 'fundamentalist' lies in the use of the term to indicate both the historical movement and a certain way of thinking. Through a careful examination of the theological background of both fundamentalism and evangelicalism, Harris concludes that fundamentalism was born of the evangelicalism of the 18th and 19th centuries. However, she regards the historical movement of fundamentalism in the 1920s as innovative in terms of its peculiar views of biblical authority. To her, what characterises some evangelicals as fundamentalists is their 'high' view of Scripture. She describes the fundamentalist mentality as follows: "a commitment to a priori reasoning that scripture cannot contain any error because it is inspired by God; an almost contrary commitment to demonstrating empirically that scripture is indeed inspired because it contains no error; a feeling that in moving away from either commitment one is making concessions to modern scholarship; and a hesitancy to make such concessions lest they detract from the authority of the Bible and so threaten the very foundations of the Christian faith".⁵³

Following Marsden in general, Harris also believes that substantial roots to fundamentalism were rationalism, Common Sense philosophy and nineteenth-century evangelicalism. While she gives attention to the fact that fundamentalism resembled many evangelical belief systems, she emphasises fundamentalism's innovative aspects, including its reason- and evidence-based defence of biblical inerrancy. She joins with Marsden in concluding that original fundamentalism was "an awkward coalition of diverse movements and groups who represented a range

⁵¹ Harriet Harris, op. cit., p. 20.

⁵² Ibid., pp. 317, 323.

of theological opinion".⁵⁴ Within this coalition, the fundamentalist movement marched along as an allied group of traditionalists, Princetonians, anti-evolutionist crusaders and dispensationalists. Harris identifies the innovative strands within fundamentalism with the Princetonian doctrine of biblical inerrancy, the holiness and millenarian movements, as did Marsden. Of those three, Harris's major concern is Princetonians' rationalism-based theology which resulted in the formulation of the doctrine of biblical inerrancy. In what follows I accept Harris's conclusions because they appear to represent the best available scholarship. As will be shown, these conclusions are also consistent with Marsden and Barr. Moreover, considering that modernism's challenge to the Bible's authority gave fundamentalists the impetus to react to modernism, it is likely that fundamentalists gave the doctrine of biblical inerrancy as their reason for supporting biblical authority. Modernism's challenge was based on the assumption that the Bible is inconsistent with the discoveries of modern science and, hence, fallible. This theory greatly provoked Princetonians and led them to formulate and defend biblical inerrancy and evidentialist apologetics. For instance, following Charles Hodge's biblical inspiration, A. A. Hodge and B. B. Warfield insisted that inspiration extends to every word in the Bible. This indicates that the Princetonians believed that the purpose of inspiration was to record the truth, which follows common sense realism's view that truth must have been stated completely accurately.⁵⁵ This view of Scripture was a leading principle of 1920s fundamentalism and a distinctive characteristic of the movement.

Evidently, historians and theologians have different perceptions of the movement. However, strongly relying on Sandeen, Marsden and Harris's consideration of the movement's distinctive characteristics, I shall work with the provisional assumption that fundamentalism was not simply a continuation of earlier Christian traditions but that it was a new Christian movement. It largely

⁵³ Ibid., p. 313.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 20.

consisted of various evangelicals who were hostile to cultural and theological modernism. Marsden and Harris, in particular, maintain this view. They understand that American fundamentalism contained traditional elements but also contained much innovation and that it had never identified itself with the so-called 'five-point' doctrinal statements. They are assured that early American fundamentalism was a coalition of denominational traditionalists, a few anti-evolutionists, and followers of innovative strands within evangelicalism. These followers included conservative Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, revivalists and members of both holiness and dispensationalist movements. This complexity of the fundamentalist movement was demonstrated in its absolute biblical stance, its Christian superiority, and its soul winning. In regard to fundamentalism's innovative theology (which will be discussed later), Marsden and Harris refer to the Old Princetonians' biblical inerrancy since this differed from traditional understandings of Scripture. Their definitions of fundamentalism have become the background for my study of Korean fundamentalism. Marsden's and Harris's theological and cultural analyses of original fundamentalism provide not only the background of American fundamentalism but also help engagement with Korean fundamentalism: this upheld biblical inerrancy in a similar manner to that of the Old Princetonians. While referring to their understanding of the background to American fundamentalism, I analyse the theological and historical fundamentalist elements which predisposed Koreans towards fundamentalism. Following this, I further discuss why 1930s Korean fundamentalism, which inherited some aspects of American fundamentalism and had its own conservative-liberal controversy, has not only departed from older Christian traditions but also is somewhat irrelevant to contemporary pluralist, Korean society. These issues are at stake, firstly, because Korean fundamentalism inherited the Old Princetonians' view of the Bible without realising that it was evidence-based rather than an faith-based assumption. It is interesting to note that Korean fundamentalism acknowledges both reason and faith,

⁵⁵ George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, op. cit., pp. 112-113.

but that it places faith over reason. So, I am led to question why Korean fundamentalism, which considers that faith is superior to reason, accepts that the doctrine of biblical inerrancy is a traditional Christian view. This leads me to think that there is an intimate theological link between American fundamentalism and Korean fundamentalism, but the difference lies in their positioning of reason and faith in determining the doctrine of biblical inerrancy. This will be discussed more in detail in a later section. The issues are at stake also because Korean fundamentalism inherited American fundamentalism's separatist tendency. This tendency was one of a few innovative strands which made American and Korean fundamentalism distinct from the broader Christian tradition. In relation to this, in chapter three I will discuss the mission crisis that Korean fundamentalism is facing today, as a result of maintaining early American and its own fundamentalist theologies. For now, my discussion of the rise of American fundamentalism, as a divergent movement from the broader Christian tradition and as a strong reaction to modernism will demonstrate the innovative aspects of fundamentalism in more detail and will end by examining its differences from and similarities to Korean fundamentalism.

2.1.2.2.2. A Strong Hostility to Modernism and the Christianity of Modernism (1920s)

In this section, I investigate modernism's⁵⁶ historical and theological challenges to the existing American conservative church. The reason for this investigation is to demonstrate the cultural and theological circumstances in which American fundamentalism emerged. This is because similar circumstances, but in different context, arose in Korea in the 1930s. These provoked some Korean conservative theologians to become hostile towards theological liberalism. This is important

⁵⁶ Marsden defines the term 'modernism' as "the adaptation of religious ideas to modern culture". He explains that the modernists' teachings of God's immanence imply that God is revealed in cultural development. This led the modernists to believe in new versions of postmillennialism.

because it helps us to see that Korean fundamentalism in the 1930s arose mainly because the Korean fundamentalist church was facing theological skepticism for the first time. This hostile tendency remains even today. However, it is now questionable whether or not this hostile position is still necessary in the contemporary Korean church's multi-theological atmosphere. In this section, I consider such issues as how modernism had developed in America and how its influence upon Christianity directly challenged some Christians to take a strong stand against it. Examining this historical background will enable a better understanding of the innovative strands of American fundamentalism. These innovations (the holiness and premillennial movements, and the doctrine of biblical inerrancy) indicate that fundamentalism has become a distinctive movement with Christianity which differs from the wider Christian tradition and orthodoxy. This is particularly so in the case of the doctrine of biblical inerrancy, which will be discussed in "Old Princeton Theologians' Doctrine of Biblical Inerrancy". When I discuss the innovative aspects of 1920s American fundamentalism, I also consider its negative influence upon the American church. Fundamentalism's defensive attitude, which sets itself in judgment over other forms of theology, caused most of the separation that occurred within and between the Protestant churches. This negative consequence of American fundamentalism also appeared in early and contemporary Korean fundamentalism. Hence, my argument for the need to reconstruct Korean fundamentalism (this appears in chapter three) will make more sense after this investigation. Towards the end of this section, I will briefly state how the doctrinal faith of Princeton theologians played an important role during the fundamentalist-modernist controversy. This will introduce the Princetonians' views of biblical inerrancy which I will be discussing in depth in a subsequent section. Here, I attempt to demonstrate the distinctive characteristics of 1920s American

According to them, the spiritual progress of God's Kingdom is seen in the evolution of culture (George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, op. cit., p. 146).

fundamentalism, in preparation for the next section where I show the similarities and differences between American fundamentalism and Korean fundamentalism.

At the beginning of the twentieth century American Protestants faced an enormous theological challenge that caused the mainstream theology of conservative evangelicals to exhibit confusion. Between 1917 and the early 1920s, American society underwent a dramatic cultural transformation associated with the World War I and its aftermath.⁵⁷ The war had exposed every religious community in America to secularist tendencies.⁵⁸ 'Modern thought',⁵⁹ which was understood as a delayed result of the Enlightenment, accelerated a break away from established authority and promoted the pursuit of truth by relying on observation and

⁵⁷ George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, op. cit., p. 141. Marsden explains that conservative evangelicalism had been a leading religious force in America for a century. In spite of some theological Gospel opponents, they shared a 'yoke of mission'. However, after 1920, conservative evangelical councils were mostly run by 'fundamentalists' who were eager to fight the scourge of modernism which was encroaching into church and society. The two factors, he suggests, which caused the American evangelicals to make this remarkable shift from moderation to militancy were radical forms of theological liberalism and evolutionism.

⁵⁸ The war had raised questions about the continuing maintenance of American civilization and Christian morality. The crucial question for conservative Christians was "can Christianity prevail against the gigantic and precarious force of secularism and save Christian civilisation from outside interference?" A massive challenge of rationality and science to the evangelical faith was presented in the new forms of biblical criticism and Darwinism. Immediately, American conservative Christians confronted a major problem: should Christians take the lead in saving civilisation, instead of saving souls, or should it neglect civilisation which might bring, in the end, the destruction of Christianity? This was the historical moment that would determine the future of American civilisation. Although America was moving towards secularist tendencies, it should be viewed as Christian secularity, rather than strict non-theistic secularism. It was Christian secularity as Allen Galloway had put it, in the sense that the American churches tended to confront "presence of God within this *saeculum*-within this age-and [saw] all culture as a place of responsible meeting with him" (F. R. Barry, *Secular and Supernatural*, London: SCM Press LTD, 1969, p. 55). (See also A. Galloway, *Faith in a Changing Culture*, London, 1967, pp. 47, 103). With their Puritan background, American religious systems of value have been mostly determined by how much effort people have put into their Christian lives in order to achieve 'eternal life'. However, after it was influenced by a new world view of modern people and their value systems, the traditional objects of religion seemed far beyond their rationality and it led American Christianity to build a new form of faith within the secular society.

⁵⁹ Here 'modern thought' is defined as a blend of Darwinism, higher criticism, the new historical, sociological, and Freudian ways of thinking (George Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism*, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1991, p. 32).

reasoning.⁶⁰ The dramatic prevalence of empirical science and rationalism (which was associated with European critics such as F. C. Baur, D. F. Strauss, and J. E. Renan) was a blow against traditional Christian faith, which was built upon undiscussed and unquestionable premises.⁶¹

It is important to note that, at the time of the European critics (such as F. C. Baur, D. F. Strauss, and J. E. Renan),⁶² the inerrancy of the Bible was discussed in the Northern Presbyterian Church in America. Since this thesis is concerned with Park's fundamentalism and, given that, part of his theology was based on the Old Princetonians' biblical inerrancy, it is necessary to pay close attention to how the Northern Presbyterian Church in America responded to modern theologians' biblical criticism, and which of the Presbyterian church's militant aspects was later adopted by Park and his followers. Conclusions from both 'textual criticism' (comparative study of the manuscript evidence for the original words of the Old and New Testaments) and 'higher criticism' (the application of modern historical studies to the Bible) called traditional views of the Bible into question. Mark Noll

⁶⁰ Prior to the advent of modernism, American Protestants had believed in the idea of God's premillennial kingdom. However, modernism, which adopted religious ideas into modern culture, made the immense shift to attempt to realise that kingdom in their 'democratic', modern lifestyles.

⁶¹ George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, op. cit., pp. 17-18.

⁶² Some Christian scholars of the seventeenth century in Europe saw that the Bible did not show equality of divine inspiration, that its authors seemed to hold diverse and not always harmonious views, and that some of the books appeared to have been written later than the dates traditionally assigned to them. For those scholars, applying the most advanced processes of historical and literary analysis for the better understanding of the Bible was undoubtedly reasonable and necessary. Richard Simon's *Critical History of the Old Testament* (1678), Thomas Hobbes' *Leviathan* (1661), and Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (1670) demonstrated a rationalistic criticism that contradicted supernatural occurrences in scripture and supposed the possibility of errors and inconsistency in the text (John J. Davies, *Foundations of Evangelical Theology*, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1984, p. 26). Such biblical criticism, derived from a highly sophisticated knowledge of man (which was a product of the early stages of the Enlightenment), was a common-sense demand by intellectuals that Scripture should be examined, and if necessary revised, in the light of the known facts. European critical studies were expanded in America during the nineteenth century with Moses Stuart's careful combination of the new European approaches with his conservative theological view. In his book *Life of Jesus* (1835) David Friedrich Strauss went as far beyond tradition as to view the Gospels as mythical expressions of the faith of the early Christians (Ibid., p. 27). Following Strauss, the German professor Julius Wellhausen favoured an evolutionary reconstruction of the history of Israel in his *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (1883). In regard to the authorship of the Pentateuch, Wellhausen pointed out that the various documents of the Pentateuch show different

notes that public discussion of the new views on the Bible occurred between Presbyterian conservatives and moderates from 1881 to 1883 in the pages of the *Presbyterian Review*.⁶³

On January 20, 1891, Charles A. Briggs (1841-1913), a professor at the Union Theological Seminary in New York, delivered an inaugural address entitled "The Authority of Holy Scripture". In his speech, Briggs expressed his objection to the doctrine of the 'inerrancy of the Bible' as formulated by Princeton theologians Archibald A. Hodge (1823-1886) and Benjamin B. Warfield (1851-1921).⁶⁴ Briggs upheld biblical criticism and insisted that fair and scholarly criticism of the text and authorship of the Bible would not ruin the Christian faith.⁶⁵ He believed that there were not simply one but three sources of divine authority: the Bible, the church, and reason.⁶⁶ Since many traditionalists believed that authority for religious truth lay with Scripture alone, Briggs' assertion of the equality of human reason with the other two seemed very threatening.

Briggs was committed to 'the principles of Scientific Induction' which led him and other Presbyterian leaders to defend a scientific approach to the Scriptures. The theological standpoint of those moderates was as follows: "The great majority of professional Biblical scholars in the various Universities and Theological Halls of the world, embracing those of the greatest learning, industry, and piety, demand a revision of traditional theories of the Bible on account of a large induction of new facts from the Bible and history".⁶⁷

What really stirred the minds of the more conservative Presbyterians was, therefore, Briggs' questioning of the nature of the Bible on a broader front, giving

strands of writing, verifying that the present books were not composed at one time by a single author (Ibid.).

⁶³ Mark Noll, *The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind*, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1994, p. 103.

⁶⁴ George Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism*, op. cit., p. 38.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Jerald C. Brauer, *Protestantism in America: A Narrative History*, London: SCM Press, 1966, p. 226.

⁶⁷ Mark Noll, op. cit., p. 103. See also Charles A. Briggs, "Critical Theories of the Sacred Scriptures in Relation to their Inspiration," *Presbyterian Review* 2, July 1881: 558.

less value to traditional biblical exegesis. The so-called 'higher criticism', which Briggs understood as an intellectual process to discover a veiled divine revelation, was seen by conservatives as man's 'judgment' upon the revealed divine word of God. Theological liberals regarded their quest as an 'investigation' of the literary sources and historical circumstances of the books of the Bible. 'Lower criticism', by contrast, was the study and comparison of manuscripts to determine the original text of the biblical books. As a result of Briggs' affirmative attitude toward biblical criticism a polarization occurred: considerable numbers of denominational leaders, seminary professors, and clergy showed their agreement with his approach but conservative evangelicals tended to regard such historical and literary study as turning against the concept of an infallible Bible.

Believing that Briggs' idea of a scientific approach to the Scriptures was radical and dangerous, the Presbyterian Church in America condemned him as a heretic and pressed charges against him. He was found guilty of heresy in 1893 and suspended from the Presbyterian ministry. Despite the belief of the conservative Presbyterians that they were defending the truth of God's word, Briggs also believed that he was a genuine defender of God's word. He was trying to free Scripture from human idolatry in order to let the voice of God be heard. Briggs referred to the censure of his biblical criticism as bibliolatry.⁶⁸ For him, the Bible was the greatest treasure of the church and, thus, no longer could the "self-constituted defenders...retain a monopoly of the word of God and exact conditions of all who would use it. It [had] already been taken from them by Biblical criticism, and it [was] open to all mankind, without conditions".⁶⁹ The Briggs affair ended when both he and the Union Seminary left the Presbyterian Church. However, the struggles of American evangelicalism⁷⁰ with the forces of biblical criticism seen in this episode were

⁶⁸ Jerald C. Brauer, *Protestantism in America*, op. cit., p. 226.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ W. C. Proctor defines the term 'evangelical' as follows: "evangelicals take the Bible as a complete record of the revelation of God, complete both in the sense that all that God wishes man to know about Himself and man's own destiny can be learnt from its pages, and also in the sense that it is its own interpreter" (W. C. G. Proctor, *Evangelical Thought and Practice*, London: James Clarke

merely a prelude to future difficulties over attempts to harmonise Darwinism with the Bible.

While the American Church was engaged in battles over biblical criticism and while many scholars were attempting to reinterpret Christian beliefs and values in the light of modern demands, scientific and social Darwinism had sparked another intellectual crisis. The threat constituted by Darwinism caused conservative Christians to challenge modern scientific theory across a broadfront. This challenge was exemplified in the debate between evolutionism and creationism.

In the first few decades after the publication of *The Origin of Species* (1859) few Christian leaders grappled with either the new scientific ideas or their implications. However, in time Darwin's theories came to exercise a tremendous impact on Christian thought. Conservative theologians strongly opposed the idea of evolution, because it conflicted with the biblical account of creation. However, Darwin's theory of evolution was popularised and articulated in the American theological world by Henry Ward Beecher, who published a pro-evolution book entitled *Evolution and Religion*⁷¹ in 1885, and by John Fiske in the widely-read books *The Destiny of Man* (1884), *The Idea of God as Affected by Modern Knowledge* (1885), and *Through Nature to God* (1899).⁷² In addition to these, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* (1884) and *The Ascent of Man* (1894), two books by Henry Drummond (1851-1897), a member of the Free Church of

& Co. LTD, 1946, p. 10). It should also be noted that evangelical Christians commonly believed in such doctrines as justification by faith, the need for regeneration, the second advent of Christ, and the Great Commission. American evangelicalism's struggles with biblical criticism were mirrored in Korea in the 1930s. Korean fundamentalism emerged in order to resist liberalism's attempt to employ biblical criticism.

⁷¹ Clifford E. Clark, Jr., *Henry Ward Beecher: Spokesman for a Middle-Class America*, Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1978, pp. 266-267. Henry Beecher perceived himself as a "cordial Christian Evolutionist" who considered a renewal of social conscience as the most important object of human life, while "applying the evolutionary principles and theories to the practical aspects of religious life". Giving thought to the chaotic situation of society, Beecher demanded a great amount of concern and participation from the wealthy and high-class people to the problems of the poor. "If the top of society bends perpetually over the bottom, with tenderness, if the rich and strong are the best friends of the poor and needy, that is a civilized and a Christian community..." Such an argument provoked society as well as churches to apply the examples of Jesus Christ's ministry on earth.

Scotland, and a protégé, of D. L. Moody, were widely read on both sides of the Atlantic.

Henry Beecher, employing the 'new theology' associated with Darwinism, assured his followers that Christianity would progress with the modern age.⁷³ He drew large crowds to his fashionable Brooklyn church with his progressive spirit which was defined as 'liberal'. Henry Beecher had been brought up in the Puritan style of colonial America by his father, Lyman Beecher, a traditional Calvinist preacher.⁷⁴ However, despite his background of strict Calvinism, when as a young man he had lived and preached in the frontier communities of the Middle West, he set the more traditional doctrines aside in order to identify Christianity with the respectable middle-class culture of New York.⁷⁵ Unlike other preachers of the day, who emphasised the need to reject speculative modern ideas, Beecher's message was optimistic and positive. His affluent Brooklyn suburban audience, sensing a conflict between their new wealth and the strict Puritan morality in which they had been raised, felt relieved as they listened to Beecher's affirmative interpretations of Scripture which inclined towards teaching God's love rather than hellfire or condemnation.⁷⁶

⁷² John J. Davis, *Foundations of Evangelical Theology*, op. cit., 1984, p. 28.

⁷³ George Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism*, op. cit., p. 18.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, op. cit., pp. 23-24. Marsden points out that Calvinist theological views based on 'abstract truth' were repudiated by Henry Beecher. For instance, the moral government of God, God's relationships to humanity, and the nature of religious experience, says Marsden, had all been reduced to merely human questions through Common Sense and Baconian analyses. Furthermore, Marsden sees Beecher's hermeneutical approach to theology as focusing on purely romantic ideals which have been revealed in Nature: truths of the heart, sentiment, 'imagination', and 'sublimity'. Bearing in mind Henry Beecher's progressive theology, Marsden suggests that the three most conspicuous tendencies of emerging American religious liberalism were as follows: first, the progress of God's Kingdom is identified with the progressive nature of human civilisation, especially in science and morality; second, morality has become the nature of religion and is indeed equivalent to the very essence of religion; third, the preternatural is no longer clearly separated from the natural, but rather manifests itself only in the natural.

⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 22-23. See also William G. McLoughlin, *The Meaning of Henry Ward Beecher: An Essay on the Shifting Values of Mid-Victorian America, 1840-1870*, New York, 1970, pp. 185-220.

John Fiske (1842-1901), who is remembered as an American historian, philosopher, and popularizer of European evolutionary theory, was also an effectual figure who published several short but widely-read essays which vigorously argued that evolution supported essential ideas of religion.⁷⁷ Having graduated from Harvard law school, Fiske turned his direction to U.S. history, as interpreted in the light of evolutionary theory, after spending some time with Charles Darwin, Herbert Spencer⁷⁸, and T. H. Huxley.⁷⁹ One of Fiske's major works *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy*, which was written to demonstrate the possibility of transcendental direction and order in historical evolution, discussed the possible reconciliation of theology and science.⁸⁰ Fiske's understanding of the 'American segment' of human history as the latest development in humanity's progress represented one of the most optimistic post-Darwinian expressions of the American faith in God, progress, and a moral society.⁸¹

Besides Henry Beecher and John Fiske, James McCosh, President of the College of New Jersey, proposed the feasibility of the mutual reliance of science and Scripture.⁸² Such attempts to assimilate the new scientific hypotheses to the traditional interpretation of Scripture outraged conservative theologians and scholars. Despite the hostility of conservative theologians McCosh earned a reputation as America's greatest exponent of Scottish Common Sense Philosophy,⁸³

⁷⁷ *The Encyclopedia Americana*, Vol. 11, 1978, p. 336.

⁷⁸ Herbert Spencer became an evolutionist in the early 1840. He identified the chief goal of philosophy with the two combined ideas: uniformitarianism, and the theory of descent of the 'development hypothesis.' By uniformitarianism, Spencer meant no miraculous intervention in natural process, and, hence, no special creation by particular designer (J. D. Y. Peel, *Herbert Spencer: the evolution of a sociologist*, London: Heinemann, 1971, pp. 132-134).

⁷⁹ *The New Encyclopedia Britannica* V. 4, ed. by Robert McHenry, Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc., 1993, p. 803.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² It is worthy of note that actually McCosh's approach was not a new one. It was the nature of the science that had changed. The new science demanded validation on its own terms and presumed to judge other beliefs by its own criteria.

⁸³ Harriet Harris, op. cit., p. 14. Harris notes that Common Sense Philosophy provided a framework for Princeton theologians to develop an intellectual statement of the fundamentalist standpoint, while also providing a way to produce a conservative biblical apologetic in a scientific age.

as he insisted that the reconciliation of Darwinism and the Bible should be welcomed as an attempt to understand the implications of the Bible in the light of modern scientific knowledge.⁸⁴ In relation to the basic assertion of Common Sense Philosophy, McCosh believed that no one would deny that there was a God who had created human beings: "Common Sense turns away from it [i.e. such a denial]. Philosophy declares that this would be an effect without a cause adequate to prove it".⁸⁵ McCosh convinced himself that the reconciliation of evolution and Christianity was possible without violating the 'cause and effect' principle. Science and Scripture, he believed, would never contravene each other since they were mutually confirmatory revelations of God: "Both reveal order in the world; the one appointed by God; the other discovered by man".⁸⁶ Therefore, rather than destroying the very essence of Christianity, McCosh believed, evolution enlightened the meaning of faith: "Those who view development in the proper light see in it only a form or manifestation of law".⁸⁷

The continuing progress of syncretism between scientific evolution theory and scripture provoked the conservative theologians of Princeton Theological Seminary to fury. Charles Hodge in 1874 wrote *What is Darwinism?* arguing that Darwinism was inherently atheistic and that the theory of natural selection dimmed God's primary role in the creation of the world. He asked: "Is development an intellectual process guided by God, or is it a blind process of unintelligible, unconscious force, which knows no end and adopts no means"?⁸⁸ In another book entitled *Christianity and Liberalism* published in 1923, J. Gresham Machen stated that, "our principal concern just now is to show that the liberal attempt at reconciling Christianity with modern science has really relinquished everything distinctive of Christianity, so that what remains is in essentials only that same indefinite type of religious aspiration

⁸⁴ George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, op. cit. pp. 18-19.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 18.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 19

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, op. cit., p. 19.

which was in the world before Christianity came upon the scene".⁸⁹ While Princeton theologians, such as Hodge and Machen, regarded Darwinism as the driving force of liberalism, and the path through which evangelical Christians were being seduced away from 'sound orthodox theology', an anonymous Princeton scholar proposed the possibility of a compromise whereby scientific discoveries might be used to verify the Scriptural teachings of the order of the six 'days' of Genesis.⁹⁰

By the early 1920s, the conservative-liberal controversy had become a central characteristic of American Protestantism. As a result of this heated controversy, a group of militant conservatives emerged to defend their understanding of Christian doctrines. This was the beginning of the fundamentalist movement. It is important to note that fundamentalism was itself a coalition of diverse evangelical movements, some of which were innovative (the premillennial dispensationalist movement, the holiness movement) and others of which contained innovations (such as the Old Princetonian doctrine of inerrancy).⁹¹ These various innovations pre-dated the fundamentalist coalition by a few decades. The question is then, how fundamentalism can be seen as innovative in Christian history. To answer this question, I will first examine the innovative strands within fundamentalism and analyse to what extent fundamentalism has moved away from Christian tradition.

The innovative strands within fundamentalism were the holiness and millenarian movements and the Old Princetonian rationalism-based doctrine of biblical inerrancy.⁹² It should be noted that the holiness and millenarian movements which pre-existed fundamentalism, offered a new direction for Protestant renewal.⁹³ The doctrine of biblical inerrancy, as it came to be known by Princetonians, was no invention of the late nineteenth century. Many Protestant Christians had held similar views in the past, although they did not formulate and explore these views

⁸⁹ J. Gresham Machen, *Christianity and Liberalism*, London: Victory Press, 1923, p. 7-8.

⁹⁰ George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, op. cit., p. 19.

⁹¹ Harriet Harris, op. cit., pp. 21-25, 30.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 21.

systematically.⁹⁴ However, the facts that some conservative Protestants were making biblical inerrancy a core of Christianity and that the holiness and millenarian movements strongly promoted the fundamentalist mentality implied that fundamentalism was an innovative movement. In the following paragraphs, I draw upon Marsden's and Harris's work to help discuss two innovative strands (the holiness and millenarian movements) and fundamentalist's innovative aspects, leaving the details of the Old Princetonians' doctrine of biblical inerrancy to a later section.

I refer to Marsden's and Harris's analyses of American fundamentalism's innovative aspects to show that these innovative aspects were similarly demonstrated by Korean fundamentalism. Marsden's and Harris's studies are revolutionary when compared to those of their predecessors (for example, Stewart G. Cole, Robert Handy, and Louis Gasper). Prior to the 1970's, research had produced a confusing set of contradictory interpretations of original fundamentalism. These scholars first believed that original fundamentalism centred its theology upon the 'five-point' doctrine and wrongly posited that these five points were established at the Niagara Conference of 1895.⁹⁵ What aspect of fundamentalism makes all of these contradictory documents possible? It is likely that these historians' inadequate study of the original movement had resulted in misrecording of the truth about fundamentalism, i.e. the problem with these descriptions does not result from the movement itself but from the historians' inattentiveness to its larger scale. Hence, this study relies upon Marsden and Harris, not only because they offer similar ideas on the innovative aspects of American fundamentalism, but also because they provide the historical and theological grounds upon which I can examine these aspects of Korean fundamentalism.

⁹³ George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, op. cit., pp. 37-39.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 37.

⁹⁵ Harriet Harris, op. cit., p. 25.

One of the innovative strands of fundamentalism, the holiness movement, was demonstrated by original fundamentalism along with the emphases of morality and separatism. While liberals spoke of natural tendencies to goodness in humans, fundamentalists emphasised that the ethical aspects of humans arose only through the supernatural work of the Holy Spirit.⁹⁶ This is true because they not only regarded conversion experience but also personal encounter with the Holy Spirit as important: the later they defined as the 'second blessing'. Although the holiness fundamentalism followed some basic teachings of John Wesley, it often went further than Methodism by stressing church's separation from worldliness. The holiness fundamentalism tended to separate itself from the larger and more respectable denominations, because it was aware of the tendency of modern church: "the more well-to-do a group, the less demanding are its requirements for sanctification".⁹⁷ What needs to be noted, hence, for this particular strand of fundamentalism, is that the only way Christians could avoid immoral temptations was to live a holy life in the light of the sanctifying power of the Holy Spirit. While facing moral depravity in society and even in the church, American fundamentalism of the 1920s utilised the spirit of the holiness movement to resist the 'immorality' of modernism.

Dispensational premillennialism was another innovative strands of fundamentalism. With their emphasis on the biblical prophecy which predicted the decline of the earthly churches and human culture, dispensationalists persuaded themselves that the apparent "secularisation of the culture and the apostasy (liberalism) within the churches"⁹⁸ were the signs of Christ's kingdom coming in the near future. The question must be asked as to whether there is any significant relationship between secularisation of culture and Christ's return. Significantly, the premillennial characteristic of fundamentalism had accompanied the development of dualism (the idea that the world is evil and the Kingdom of God is good). To

⁹⁶ George Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism*, op. cit., p. 41.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 42.

fundamentalists, the world is finite and so it will be destroyed as is prophesied in the Bible. This implies that Christians are called to live holy lives apart from worldly culture, while awaiting Christ's return and to join him ruling the millennial kingdom. Dispensationalists' anti-modernist aspects are best described by their pessimistic views of modern culture, their interpretations of Scripture through the lens of Scripture rather than that of human history and their emphasis on divine intervention in human life being direct rather than through social forces.⁹⁹ Dispensationalists' strict literal readings of the Scriptures, especially of biblical prophecies, have been the greatest driving force behind the doctrine of biblical inerrancy. A brief glance at the historical background of Dispensationalism will promote our understanding of fundamentalism's distinctiveness. Dispensationalism, which was a premillennial movement, was founded in England. Following the biblical prophecy about restoring the Jews, the London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst Jews was founded early in the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁰ This society influenced evangelicals within the Church of England and eventually led some of them to hold formal meetings in homes in the 1810s and 1820s, to study prophetic literature. Such Bible study led to other meetings, the Albury Prophetic Conferences, held between 1826 and 1830.

In a similar form, the Powerscourt Conferences were founded by Lady Powerscourt in 1827 in Ireland; these gave John Nelson Darby an opportunity to promote his distinctive biblical interpretations of the Scriptures.¹⁰¹ Darby left the Church of Ireland and moved to Dublin where he held 'Separatist' gatherings. Finally, in 1830 he came to Oxford where he met Benjamin Wiles Newton and was encouraged to join the Bible group which soon became named the 'Plymouth

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

¹⁰⁰ Harriet Harris, *op. cit.* p. 22.

¹⁰¹ Harris notes that Darby had placed all the events predicted in Revelation in the future. Darby's unique approach to the Scriptures, dividing time into seven periods (in each of which man was tested in respect of obedience to some specific revelation of the will of God), received a great support from some Calvinists since it reflected Calvinist teachings of God's sovereignty and providence (Harriet A. Harris, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24).

Brethren'.¹⁰² The Niagara Conference, which was then known as the Believers' Meeting for Bible Study, was founded in 1878. It emphasised Darby's dispensational premillennialism. The most significant person to show great sympathy for dispensationalism and who introduced a new form of premillennial teachings to American Christians, was Dwight L. Moody (1837-1899). He even had some dispensationalist leaders (such as Reuben A. Torrey, James M. Gray, C. I. Scofield, William J. Eerdman and A. C. Dixon) as his closest partners.¹⁰³ Being influenced by the Keswick movement of England, Moody was able to conduct massive evangelical campaigns which promulgated his holiness-dispensationalist biblical teachings. From his evangelistic messages, which emphasised 'the Three R's' (Ruin by sin, Redemption by Christ, and Regeneration by the Holy Ghost),¹⁰⁴ one can assume that his messages were associated with the poor ethical conditions of humans and the desperate conditions of the world. The central aim of his revivalist movement, therefore, was with the aid of Christ's saving grace to save souls out of this wrecked world since he saw that there is no hope for humanity and the world until Jesus returns to re-establish his kingdom on earth.

In the 1920s, the spirit of dispensationalism and the holiness movement was revived in American society, along with more strict biblicism, moral conduct, and premillennialism. The reasons for this are varied and I have discussed them somewhat earlier in this section. The primary cause of innovative fundamentalism was the secularist tendency of American culture after World War I. The major problems that North American churches faced after the World War I were, on the one hand, bitter reactions and prejudices against certain groups of people, and on the other hand, secularisation of culture. The immediate response of American churches after the war was generally positive because they shared a vision of a united church uniting a divided world.¹⁰⁵ When one considers the fact that

¹⁰² Harriet Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

¹⁰³ George Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism*, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

America's effort to promote the spirit of patriotism was reinforced by the victory of American troops, and that the church played a significant role in creating patriotism, one can be sure that American Christianity (regardless of denomination) had come to a point of unity which strengthened the Christian identity in that particular period. However, the rise of communist threats by the influence of Marxist revolution in Russia and the revival of the Ku Klux Klan at home created an atmosphere of disunity in American society. Also, by the 1920s, American peoples' lives were apparently becoming secularised by the modern ideas of religion and popular culture. This obviously challenged the moral standards recognised by the church. Marsden states that this climate of crisis resulted in conflicting theological opinions among Protestant churches.¹⁰⁶ His statement is reasonable because cultural transformation in America could have caused the division of opinions among Protestants about the church's mission statement. Those who saw modernism to be appropriate to times of cultural change now proposed liberal understandings of Christianity, while fundamentalists believed that modernism undermines the very idea of Christianity. Hence, the negative consequence of war was disunity within the churches. More clearly, the revival spirit of premillennialism and the holiness movement in 1920s fundamentalism created a mood of anti-modernism and anti-liberalism. In speaking of innovative aspects of fundamentalism, as discussed earlier, it was the fundamentalists who separated themselves from larger denominations, reacting against liberals' and other evangelicals' optimistic views of modernism. In a similar manner, Korean fundamentalism resisted modern liberalism. As we shall see, it preferred separatism to relating its theology with those of other denominations. It is a difficult question as to whether one group, which believes that it has a monopoly on truth, can ever join another group which holds essentially different theological views. American and Korean fundamentalism's rigid attitudes, setting themselves over other forms of Christianity (including some evangelicals), caused most of the separation that occurred within

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 56.

and between the Protestant churches. Moreover, premillennialism and the holiness perception of both American and Korean fundamentalism became the driving force towards a new stance which condemned the world. It is quite possible that the negative effects of fundamentalist mentality were no less than the negative effects that came through liberalism.

So far it has been stated that dispensational premillennialism and the holiness movement were the two major innovative components of fundamentalism. Because of this, the Northern Baptist Convention and the Northern Presbyterian Church in the USA became centres of denominational controversy. Marsden notes that in these denominations, liberals were as strongly represented as were fundamentalists, whereas liberals outnumbered fundamentalists in the Protestant Episcopal church, the Northern Methodist and Congregationalists, except the Southern Baptist Convention and the Southern Presbyterian Church in the USA (where conservatives were predominant).¹⁰⁷ This tells us that the fundamentalist phenomenon was most spontaneous among Presbyterians and Baptists, who "displayed greater concern for doctrinal purity than did most other conservatives".¹⁰⁸ Harris's understanding, namely that fundamentalists' Calvinist heritage committed Presbyterian and Baptist conservatives to a propositional notion of truth, helps us to see the fact that Princeton Presbyterians were involved in the fundamentalist movement as well. Hence, it is important to examine these Princetonians' theological contribution to fundamentalism. For example, it is noteworthy that the classic form of biblical inerrancy was first formulated by Princeton theologians, such as B. B. Warfield and A. A. Hodge.¹⁰⁹ Later, Gresham Machen played a major role in deciding the characteristics of the fundamentalist-conservative coalition.¹¹⁰ This, in fact, points out the need to consider biblical inerrancy as the third innovative component of

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., pp. 57-58.

¹⁰⁸ Harriet Harris, op. cit., p. 30.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., Ernest Sandeen also notes that A. A. Hodge and B. B. Warfield claimed for the first time in 1881 that the original autographs were inerrant (Ernest Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism 1800-1930*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970, p. 128).

fundamentalism. This issue will be discussed in section "Princeton Theologians' Doctrine of the Inerrancy of the Bible". However, a brief discussion of the Princetonians' role during the fundamentalist-modernist controversy is helpful at this stage.

The conflict between fundamentalism and liberalism was exemplified by the clash between Gresham Machen (a Princeton theologian and the leading scholar of the fundamentalist movement) and Harry Emerson Fosdick over the issues of the rising fundamentalist movement. Fosdick was pastor of the New York First Presbyterian Church. In 1922, he delivered a famous sermon to his congregation with the arresting title: "Shall the Fundamentalists Win?"¹¹¹ This sermon immediately brought problems to the Presbyterian church, since it provided many pro-liberal Presbyterian leaders with an opportunity to speak out in favour of liberal theology. In 1923, Gresham Machen's *Christianity and Liberalism* was published, primarily to defend the traditional understanding of Christianity and to repudiate Fosdick's theological standpoint. In the following year some of those who favoured liberalism produced *The Auburn Affirmation* as a means of rejecting Machen's understanding of Christianity.¹¹² As a result of this declaration the whole Presbyterian denomination became entangled in theological controversy, eventually splitting in 1924 into two factions: fundamentalist and liberal.

At the beginning of this theological crisis a number of American Christian scholars had become convinced that evolution was "God's way of preserving creation order" but equally many other fundamentalist scholars, including Gresham Machen, William Jennings Bryan, and William Bell Riley, saw no reason to adopt evolutionary theory into biblical studies and intentionally avoided using textual analysis in the study of Scripture. The fundamentalists believed the modernist tendency had gone too far. The controversy finally came to a climax in 1925 when William Jennings Bryan (a fundamentalist spokesman) and Clarence Darrow (an

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 30; see also George Marsden, *op cit.*, p. 58.

¹¹¹ C. E. Olmstead, *History of Religion in the US.*, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1960, p. 556.

intellectual modernist lawyer) faced each other in the famous 'Scopes Trial'. A school science teacher had violated a Tennessee law which forbade the teaching of evolutionary theory which was seen as denying the biblical teachings of creation of man.¹¹³ The eventual result ran contrary to the expectations of the fundamentalists. The trial gave them the impression that contemporary society was entirely captured by a secularism which attempted to equate truth with cultural circumstances.

As seen from Marsden's and Harris's references to the innovative aspects of American fundamentalism, it was hardly seen as following Christian tradition. Fundamentalism contained innovation in its views of Scripture. Harris argues that "the 'high' view of scripture is often essentially fundamentalist".¹¹⁴ This statement is convincing when one considers that fundamentalists a priori reasoned that Scripture's inspiration guarantees its inerrancy and that Scripture is inspired since it is inerrant.¹¹⁵ These presuppositions, as will be also discussed later, were developed by Princetonians who used empirical rationalism to arrive at their understandings of Scripture. This use of rationalism shows that fundamentalism was innovative in terms of its evidentialist apologetics-- these were based on philosophical principles. Barr also states that rationalism is one of the factors which differentiated fundamentalism from earlier, similarly closed forms of Christianity.¹¹⁶ He describes Princeton theologians Charles Hodge and Benjamin Warfield as "pre-Kantian eighteenth-century empirical rationalists, in that they display[ed] great confidence in reason and the authority of facts, and assume[d] ultimate unity between science and religion".¹¹⁷ Such fundamentalist rationalism, together with Scottish Common Sense Philosophy and Baconianism, indubitably promoted reason over faith.

I do not intend to discuss all of Christian tradition in this thesis. Such a discussion would involve a lot of work in virgin territory, and would necessitate a

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ George Marsden, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-187.

¹¹⁴ Harriet Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. 94.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

separate dissertation. However, I need to note that, arguably, from the beginning of Christianity until the rise of fundamentalism, no theological issues were more important than such doctrines as the Trinity and Christology and that there was no discussion of Scripture being proven by rationalism alone. This means not that earlier Christians overlooked Scripture's role in the church but that they considered Scripture mainly in connection with salvation through Christ's redemptive work. One example is drawn from the work of the apologists. In order to maintain the church's faith in the face of Gnosticism, Marcionism, and Montanism, apologists launched an intellectual discipline which made Christianity analysed and academic of other religions. For example, Irenaeus (bishop of Southern Gaul in the last part of the second century, ca.115-ca.202) unknowingly started the doctrine of the Trinity with his defence of the doctrine of God. Focusing on God's unity, Irenaeus tried to protect both himself and the church from becoming polytheist. He warned the adversaries of Christianity against speculations about the universe before creation and about how the Son was begotten. Against Gnosticism's denial of Christ's dual (divine and human) nature, Irenaeus provided a clear Christological description which made use of both Johannine and Pauline writings.¹¹⁸ Arguably, this shows that he was a thorough biblicist whose sole authority was the Scriptures.¹¹⁹ It is noteworthy that there was no need for the cry *sola scriptura* at the time of Irenaeus because Christian tradition preserved its faith in Scripture. What is significant is that Irenaeus believed in Scripture's sufficiency and errancy. This is to say that he considered that, although the Bible might use vague language written by human writers, the major things we need to know are clear. Hence, one can say that Irenaeus' belief in Bible was an act of faith, not an evidence-based belief.

Another example is drawn from Athanasius (ca.296-373), the champion of Orthodoxy. He did not promote philosophy within the Christian faith. Instead, he

¹¹⁸ Walter A. Elwell (ed.), *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology*, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1984, p. 569; See also *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity Vol. I*, New York & London: Garland Pub. Inc., 1997, p. 588.

rejected the use of philosophy in his description of Christian doctrine; the Bible was his sole source.¹²⁰ For Athanasius, as for Clement, the rule of faith and the content of Scripture were identical. This corresponds to Athanasius' teaching that the Bible should not be interpreted legalistically, but rather in the light of its own center, Jesus Christ and his work of salvation.¹²¹ In the fight against Arianism, which believed that Christ was just a human being, Athanasius took great trouble to connect the doctrine of the Trinity with the salvation wrought by Christ, which was the centre of all Christian theology.¹²² This, Athanasius's main concern was not whether Scripture was reliable and the evidences for and against this concept. Instead, his theology was devoted to the doctrines of Trinity and of salvation.

A brief sketch of Christian tradition displays how much has fundamentalism innovated itself from early Christian beliefs. As seen above, Christian tradition has mainly contended for doctrines such as Trinity, Christology and Soteriology, rather than arguing over (and discussion of evidence for and against) proving Scripture. The above discussion also indicates that Christian tradition emphasised faith over reason when considering Scripture. Christian tradition hence differs from the fundamentalist principle that Scripture has been absolutely proven to be error-free. However, Harris notes that "The testimony of the Holy Spirit to the authority of scripture was undermined by a demand for reason and evidences".¹²³ Considering that Christian tradition assumed that the Holy Spirit had the major role in interpreting the Scriptures, fundamentalism's struggle to prove the authority of the Scripture resulted in a new route to biblical understanding. Harris's also describes the distinctive theological position of evidentialist apologetics: "The idea that scripture 'evidence[d] itself to be the Word of God' (Westminster Confession, I. 5) was not new, but evidences had previously been regarded as supportive of, rather

¹¹⁹ John McManners (ed.), *The Oxford Illustrated History of Christianity*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990, p. 48.

¹²⁰ *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church Vol. IV: St. Athanasius*, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1971, pp. 61-62.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 494.

than foundational to, claims to the Bible's truth and authority".¹²⁴ The fundamentalist biblical apologetic relies on evidence to prove biblical authority whereas Christian tradition essentially bases the authority of the Bible on its faith and life-relation with Christ.

The inductive method has turned Scripture into a book of facts. Martin Marty noted that "This fact-centered approach had an appeal in practical, empirical, science-minded America and made it possible for certain kinds of scientists then and now to be fundamentalist".¹²⁵ A question regarding fundamentalism's inductive method is whether Christian faith rests only on the Bible's authority being rationally or empirically verified.¹²⁶ Such a framework gives the impression that Christianity is still valid even if Christ had not actually lived, so long as Scripture states that he did. This, says John Barton, implies that proponents of the inductive method reason that "it is the text that reveals the truth about God, not Jesus himself as he actually lived and died and rose again".¹²⁷ This is the point where non-fundamentalist evangelicals differ from fundamentalists in viewing that the factual accuracy of Scripture does not lead Christian faith.¹²⁸ Fundamentalists believe that "historical reality underlies the religious significance of central Christian motif, notably Jesus' resurrection, and that the Bible is the primary and sufficiently reliable record of the events which make up this reality".¹²⁹

Fundamentalists are so caught up with inductive method that they are more concerned with the Bible's factual accuracy than with its life-giving effects.¹³⁰ Fundamentalism's new methods imply that the readers of the Scriptures do not necessarily have to be scholars or theologians, because the Bible is so accurate that

¹²³ Harriet Harris, op. cit., p. 101.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Martin Marty and R. Scott Appleby, *The Glory and the Power: The Fundamentalist Challenge to the Modern World*, Massachusetts: Beacon Press, 1992, p. 61.

¹²⁶ Harriet Harris, op. cit., p. 314.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Ibid., p. 315.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Ibid., p. 203.

all people, unaided, can correctly understand the meaning of the words in Scripture. To fundamentalists, critical study of the Bible may undermine the 'simple' revelation of God. This leads to the fundamentalist principle of interpretation: "When the plain sense of Scripture makes common sense, seek no other sense".¹³¹

Against this fundamentalist assertion, one can ask whether the testimony of the Holy Spirit plays important role in fundamentalism's submission to biblical authority. Non-fundamentalist evangelicals "acknowledge spiritually rich interpretative elements in the biblical narrative, because 'that narrative is dynamically related to the Holy Spirit, who not only inspires the writing of scriptures but continues to be related to their usage by the people of God'"¹³² These evangelicals believe that a reader is unable to grasp all that the Bible has to reveal because the Holy Spirit continues to speak anew through Scripture.¹³³ The importance of the Holy Spirit's role in biblical interpretation will be further discussed in chapter three but, for now, it is evident that fundamentalism did not seek the authority of Scripture into enter into a life-relation with Christ and the testimony of the Holy Spirit.¹³⁴ Rather, it regarded reason and evidence to be the sole ways to prove the truth of Christianity.¹³⁵ Seemingly, this is because fundamentalism fears subjectivism: fundamentalism believes that subjectivism should not precede empiricism and rationalism.¹³⁶ Hence, fundamentalism does not rely on the essence of Christianity flowing from the life-directing power of the Holy Spirit, but on the idea that Scripture provides the 'proof' of all facts about Christianity.

¹³¹ Ibid., p. 100.

¹³² Ibid., p. 315. Harris states that Dutch Neo-Calvinism "denies the theoretical possibility that a person who is untouched by the Holy Spirit could be persuaded by arguments for the truth of Christianity and the authority of scripture"(p. 204).

¹³³ Ibid., p. 203.

¹³⁴ Ibid., p. 224.

¹³⁵ Ibid., p. 319.

¹³⁶ Ibid., p. 321.

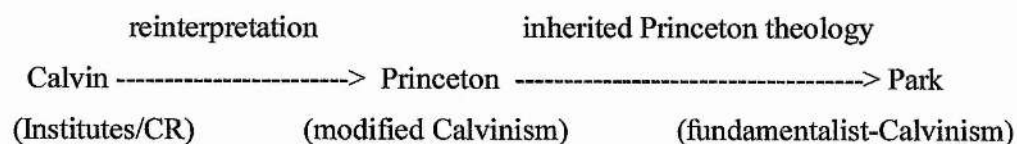
2.1.2.2.3. Concluding Remarks

We have seen that the major cause of the emergence of fundamentalism was the rise of cultural modernism and theological liberalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in American society. In the midst of these cultural changes, fundamentalism emerged with two distinctive characteristics: dispensationalism and the holiness movement. We have noted that the secularist tendency of American culture challenged fundamentalists to focus on holy life and biblical teachings of morality, while emphasising the coming Kingdom of God whose arrival would be followed by the end of this world. I also argued that modern critics' attempts to interpret the Scriptures in the light of 'new' scientific knowledge caused fundamentalists to react strongly against modernism, because they believed it was eroding the core beliefs of Christianity, especially the authority of the Bible. I further indicated that Princetonians, such as B. B. Warfield and A. A. Hodge, formulated the doctrine of biblical inerrancy which implied dispensationalist-holiness fundamentalists to believe in biblical authority. In relation to fundamentalist's 'high' view of Scripture, I have argued that its insistence on the doctrine of biblical inerrancy largely developed from its prioritising of reason over faith. In general, Christian tradition had not needed to rationally prove the authority of Scripture. This implies that the induction-based proposal of biblical inerrancy is what distinguishes fundamentalism from the Christian tradition.

Fundamentalism had emphasised doctrinal purity, along with holy life and premillennial eschatology, in the face of modern criticism, but it did not have a set of doctrines which defined itself. Norman Furniss, following Stewart Cole in misunderstanding the origin of the five-point doctrine, regarded the five points as the '*sine qua non* of fundamentalism'.¹³⁷ As conceived by Marsden and Harris, I have argued that there was no five points of fundamentalism until the 1920s, and even then those particular points were different from the ones given by the Presbyterian Church in 1910, 1916 and 1923. This obviously shows that mere

doctrinal lists were not actually intended to represent the essentials of fundamentalism. Hence, it is clear that a coalition of diverse Protestant Christians, including some anti-evolutionists, informally organised themselves, as 'fundamentalists' to create a new energy in Christianity against those of modern critics. This 'fundamentalism' soon evolved into a more rigidly-defined movement which had a dispensationalist-holiness view of Scripture.

In the next section, I will be examining how Hyung-ryong Park came across fundamentalist theology through three sources: Common Sense Philosophy, the doctrine of inerrancy and inspiration of the Bible, and apologetics taught by his Princeton predecessors. This is necessary in discerning how Park's and today's Korean fundamentalism are similar to Princeton theology and how they came to employ these principles as the supreme instruments to defend fundamentalist Christianity. At the same time, it is crucial to consider which aspects of Princeton theology encouraged Park in shaping 'Fundamentalist-Calvinism' (I use this term because Park equated fundamentalism with Calvinism). Thus, knowledge of some of the theological issues (such as God's sovereignty, the Trinity, and Christology as well as the above three subjects) which arise in the following discussions will promote our understanding about how Park's concept of those doctrines provided the ground to shape so-called the 'five points of fundamentalism'. This study will show how Korean fundamentalism's perception of both American fundamentalism and Calvin was skewed. This will also give us a picture of the Princetonians' particular interpretations of Calvinism. In pictorial terms, the flow of ideas was as follows:



¹³⁷ Harriet Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

2.1.2.3. Hyung-ryong Park's Acquaintance with the Theological Tradition of Archibald Alexander, Charles Hodge and Benjamin Warfield

From 1923, Hyung-ryong Park spent a crucial and formative part of his academic life as a student at Princeton Theological Seminary. Since he was familiar with the fame of Princeton Seminary for its conservative teachings of theology and biblical studies, affiliated with the Alexander-Hodge-Warfield theological tradition, Park showed a corresponding interest in learning their theological aspects. A catalogue of Princeton Theological Seminary (1924-1925), which lists Hyung-ryong Park as a middle class student, contains the history and purpose of the establishment. The Seminary came to exist when the Presbytery of Philadelphia submitted a proposal of founding a Presbyterian theological seminary to the General Assembly in 1809. Its claim was approved in essence, and, in 1811, final approval was given.¹³⁸ Being authorised by the General Assembly, then, the location of seminary was fixed at Princeton, New Jersey, in the following year. Also a Board of Directors, the first professor Dr. Archibald Alexander, of the seminary, who taught Didactic and Polemic Divinity, were selected.¹³⁹

The following paragraphs are taken from the educational statements of Princeton Seminary, which were adopted by the General Assembly:

"The General Assembly, after mature deliberation, have resolved, in reliance on the patronage and blessing of the Great Head of the Church, to establish a new Institution, consecrated solely to the education of men for the Gospel ministry, and to be denominated *The Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*. And to the intent that the true design of the founders of this institution may be known to the public, both now and in time to come, and especially that this design may, at all times, be distinctly viewed and sacredly regarded, both by the teachers and the pupils of the Seminary, it is judged proper to make a summary and explicit statement of it...

"It is to unite in those who shall sustain the ministerial office, religion and literature; that piety of the heart, which is the fruit only of the renewing and sanctifying grace of God, with solid learning: believing that religion without learning, or learning without

¹³⁸ *Catalogue of Princeton Theological Seminary, 1924-1925*, The Princeton Seminary Bulletin, Vol. XVIII, No. 4, January, 1925, p. 27.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

religion, in the ministers of the Gospel, must ultimately prove injurious to the church....

"It is to provide for the church men who shall be able to defend her faith against infidels and her doctrine against heretics".¹⁴⁰

Princeton theology, from Alexander to Warfield and Machen, with its combination of Reformed ideas, innovated biblical views and pious faith, was never insignificant to Park. To a large extent, Old Princeton theology¹⁴¹ provided Park with a congenial background for his own conservative attitude to the Christian life. Although each Princeton theologian and scholar had specialised in different areas of theology and had applied their own peculiar theological methodologies to demonstrate their best understandings of Christianity, many of their theological explanations and Christian professions (except the doctrine of biblical inerrancy and others) were grounded in a common heritage of Reformed scholasticism. Hence, the basic tenets of Park's theology were taken from Alexander, Hodge, Warfield and Machen's common approach to Christian doctrines and their common theological roots.

2.1.2.3.1. Archibald Alexander (1772-1851)

As the first professor of Princeton Seminary, Archibald Alexander started constructing a conservative theology with Samuel Miller, the second professor to be appointed. Having studied in depth the theological efforts of Alexander during his years at Princeton Seminary, Henry W. Bowden, professor of religion at Rutgers

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 28-30.

¹⁴¹ I prefer to specify 'Old Princeton theology' here to distinguish it from 'New Princeton Theology'. As a consequence of controversy between Princeton theologians concerning revivalism, the Old School-New School rupture took place in 1837. While the Old School remained more intellectual and dogmatic, the New School favoured the revivalistic innovations of Charles Finney. With regard to this issue, Old School theologians explained that they were never indifferent to revivalism; they believed it was the New School leaders' false observation. Alexander, who was identified as an Old School theologian, seemed to have discussed revivalism's character and importance, particularly, in the Holy Spirit ministry. However, his manuscripts about those issues were written after the rupture (hence, it is possible that his theological emphasis of revivalism shifted after the rupture of the two Schools). (Lefferts A. Loetscher, *Facing the Enlightenment and Pietism*, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1983, p. 15).

University, wrote in the foreword to Lefferts A. Loetscher's book on Alexander as follows:

Though Alexander was personally moderate and fair minded, he nevertheless fostered in his institution a static view of history that denied progressive change, a commitment to biblical inerrancy, and a refusal to cooperate with either those caught in error or those who compromised denominational priorities. Princetonians claimed to be open to critical study, but they actually underscored timeless truths in their lectures, manifesting a non-historical approach that produced undeviating adherence to orthodox conclusions.¹⁴²

Alexander personally regarded religious experience as one of the highest virtues of moral beings. His extensive knowledge of Christian philosophy, ethics, and psychology made possible the accomplishment of his special interest in bridging the gap between general scholasticism and religious experience. Alexander's methodological tools for his ontological understanding of the Supreme Being and His revelation were, more or less, based on 'Scottish Common Sense Philosophy',¹⁴³ which was transmitted from his own mentor William Graham.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² Lefferts A. Loetscher, *Facing the Enlightenment and Pietism*, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1983, p. viii.

¹⁴³ Scottish common-sense philosophy emerged in the eighteenth century, when Scottish culture underwent a 'golden age' in various aspects such as philosophy, history, *belles lettres*, natural science, social science, and economic development. A number of brilliant philosophers, including David Hume, Francis Hutcheson, and Adam Smith, challenged contemporary society's rational basis for social and moral order (Lefferts A. Loetscher, op. cit., p. 29). Basically, Common-Sense philosophy explained that the human mind was able to observe and understand the real world directly. However, philosophers, such as John Locke and David Hume, held their own philosophy which emphasised the 'subjective ideas' of man; when man sees reality, it is not the object that he senses, but his ideas of objects in his mind. Rejecting these philosophers's ideas, Common-Sense philosophy posited that one knows intuitively the principles of morality or truth as clearly as one recognises other essential aspects of reality (George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, op. cit., p. 15).

¹⁴⁴ Bearing the full logic of relationship between a single unified order of God's truth and humanity's capability of cognising that truth by its common sense, the philosophers of the school of Scottish Common Sense Realism started explaining the patterns of natural law according to the first principles or potential axioms in human mind. Scottish Common Sense Philosophy dominated the minds of some Americans for a century from 1780. America's fondness of democratic and anti-elitist ideas in the nineteenth century motivated her to employ Scottish Common Sense Philosophy in politics and religion. In politics, Common Sense Philosophy provided an idea of democracy, assuring that every normal mind (presumably regardless of any individual's intellectual level) had the potential to picture the reality of the world. In a similar way, a Common Sense view of reality provided rational and scientific methods to confirm the truths of the Bible and Christian experience. The Bible, which was upheld by the Americans of Puritan heritage as the ultimate source of moral conduct, revealed the moral law and this moral law could be understood by common individuals'

Based upon Thomas Reid's and John Witherspoon's understandings of Common Sense Philosophy, but at times moving further, Graham constructed his own way of interpreting the reality of the material world. All reasoning, he said, must be grounded upon "first principles which cannot be demonstrated, yet they are seen by immediate perception".¹⁴⁵ His embracing of 'first principles', which he thought began with full understanding of one's own existence, caused him to reject the idea of proving one's own existence, which had been attempted by Descartes. For Graham, what one senses in the physical realm is not images one has in one's brain, but the external world, directly and instinctively. This affirmation of man's intuitive mind was maintained by the common response of the majority of human beings, and Graham believed that phenomenon was a spontaneous reaction of man to the objective world, for man was 'constituted' by his Creator.¹⁴⁶

In regard to the human mind, Graham employed psychology to enhance his explanations of the relationship between intellect and emotions. Following Locke, Graham believed that emotions take major roles in the knowing process. That is, the human intellect is being constantly reformed on the basis of emotions which occur in every moment of life. This idea provoked Graham to consider further the intimate relationship between reason and spiritual experience in discussing theology. Since 'the will is the soul' which chooses and determines, one does not choose without a motive, which often comes from external influences which are external to one's emotional faculty.¹⁴⁷ From this glimpse of Graham's understanding of the human mind and its function in the context of moral law, we can assume that his view of

intuition. American's interest in the Enlightenment movement further led them to embrace Common Sense Philosophy, for it provided them with a way to understand human reality and the order of universe. (George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, op. cit., pp. 14-15). William Graham also had an acquaintance with Scottish Common Sense Philosophy, especially that of Thomas Reid and James Beattie, through his instructor, John Witherspoon, who brought this philosophy with him from Scotland when he became president of the College of New Jersey in 1768 (Lefferts A. Loetscher, op. cit., pp. 29, 33).

¹⁴⁵ Lefferts A. Loetscher, op. cit., p. 35. (Quoted from William Graham, "Lectures on Human Nature, Aula Libutatis [Libertatis]: Delivered by Wm. Graham; Notes taken by Joseph Glass, 1796" (pp. 15, 65, 5).

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

will, to some extent, accorded with Jonathan Edward's assertion of the ministry of the Holy Spirit in the process of regeneration.

Alexander noted that Graham's theology was "strictly orthodox, according to the standards of his own church, which he greatly venerated; but in his method of explaining some of the knotty points in theology, he departed considerably from the common track".¹⁴⁸ In regard to regeneration, Graham believed that man's mind perceives divine truth in its true nature under the motivation of the Holy Spirit. Alexander found this statement quite different from his own understanding. To him, Graham was presuming that man's nature, on the whole, was uncorrupt; Alexander claimed that man's mind, a part of the corruptness of humanity, would never perceive divine truth unless it was completely sanctified by divine grace. Hence, Alexander's view of regeneration involved genuine change on the part of the subjective disposition of the soul, wholly caused by God's direct touch. These two scholars' different notions, particularly on the subject of regeneration, suggest that Graham held a view close to that of Arminians or semi-Pelagians (who defined regeneration as the co-operative work of man's natural capacities of sense and intellect with the Holy Spirit, or *synergistic theory*), while Alexander held a more traditional Calvinistic view of Christian experience (one which defines regeneration as God's direct action towards utterly incapable man through the power and grace of the Holy Spirit).

Alexander's first sermon, written in 1790 as a theological exercise, is a good source of his theological formation in early stage. Selecting the book of Acts 16:31: "Believe in the Lord Jesus, and you will be saved—you and your household (NIV)", Alexander divided his sermon into three parts.¹⁴⁹ The first part mainly dealt with the nature of faith in Christ, the second discussed the connection between faith and salvation in greater depth, and the third defined the nature of salvation itself.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 36

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 37-38. (Quoted from Alexander Archibald Alexander, *Address, Washington College, 1843*, p. 27.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 43.

Outwardly, his sermon seems to have been a theological exposition, based on the thematic approach, rather than an exegesis of the historical meaning of that particular text. Consisting of some relevant cross-references, the second and third points were conventional in doctrinal content, while the first point contained a number of challenging thoughts about understanding faith in the perspective of vital experience.¹⁵⁰ Such phrases as noted in his manuscripts “yet the meanest and most unlearned of the children of God can be made to understand the true nature of saving faith, because he has the experiences of it in his own soul; he has the witness in himself”, allow us to understand his clear attitude of assimilating Common-Sense intuition into the Calvinistic doctrine of the ministry of the Holy Spirit.¹⁵¹ Affirming man’s natural and moral inability,¹⁵² Alexander said, “A view of the moral character of God in the face of Jesus Christ has a transforming efficacy upon the soul and may very likely be the means which the Holy Spirit uses in this great work of conversion”.¹⁵³

At first glance, it might seem as if Alexander left man hopeless and immobile as Charles Finney had argued. The strength of Alexander’s claim seems to rest on the point where he prioritised God’s sovereign grace over man’s interaction. It is his argument that only via the effect of God’s Spirit upon the corrupted disposition of the heart can the renewed will of the soul correspond with faith. Hence, the knowledge of God possessed by an unregenerated person, who does not know the true divine God, is merely an illusion. Such knowledge is given by the sanctification of the heart. An ‘unregenerated’ person’s religious knowledge, Alexander said, is inadequate because

it does not present truth in its true colours to the heart. It is called speculative knowledge... but it does not penetrate the excellence and the beauty of any one spiritual object; and it may be averred, that the affections of the heart do always

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 44.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Ibid. Alexander distinguished between ‘moral inability’ and ‘natural inability’ for clarification. Natural inability, he said, is inability caused by circumstances outside our control, and is not blameworthy; but moral inability is inability caused by one’s own nature and is blameworthy.

¹⁵³ Ibid., p. 45.

correspond with the real views of the understanding... Indeed, we hardly know how to distinguish between the clear perception of the beauty of an object, and the love of that object.¹⁵⁴

This understanding of theological formula can be similarly applied to one's call to the ministry: "It is the Spirit of God who calls to the ministry, and he operates by enlightening the person's mind, to see that he is possessed of those marks, by which a call is distinguished in the word of God".¹⁵⁵ One who directly responds to the call to the ministry consciously recognises that he is called, and is firmly convinced to follow the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Alexander seems to be saying that no-one would ever think of committing himself to the ministry unless he was fully convinced of and motivated by the Spirit.

The point at issue with Alexander is really whether, in the process of regeneration or calling, a man is to take responsibility for the illumination of the Spirit, or whether man is to prepare himself first to be touched by the Spirit. Undoubtedly, Alexander's response to this question was the former, only in the sense that man (his mind and soul) is justified in the sight of God and, thus saturated with the filtration of a new spirit—that which promotes a person to make the ministry his profession. Hence, his theological position on the matter of man's regeneration showed a parallel understanding of Reformed doctrine of 'justification by grace through faith alone'. Then, the ethical question of the quality of 'Christian holiness' arises, since any human is not 'holy' or 'sanctified' until God has 'justified' him or her. In other words, when justification is understood in the sense that man is made righteous by God's grace, without seeing any changes in his

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 169. (Quoted from A. Alexander, "An Inquiry into that Inability under Which the Sinner Labours", BRPR, N. S. III, 1831, p. 366).

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 47. (Quoted from A. Alexander, "A Sermon on the Gospel Ministry. A Trial Sermon... before the Rev. Presbytery of Lexington, September 20, 1791", MS, PTS, pp. 8-13). Alexander indicated five essential marks or qualifications for the ministry:

- 1) An experimental acquaintance with religion;
- 2) Certain natural abilities improved by study;
- 3) Sincere desire to serve God in the ministry;
- 4) A door to ministerial service opened by the providence of God; and
- 5) The approbation of those whom God has appointed to judge these prerequisite qualifications

nature, the whole notion of 'holiness' contradicts biblical teachings about morality. However, Alexander's explanation gave expression to the evangelical and divine point of view to which he was so passionately attached. He re-emphasised the renewing act of God upon man's depraved spirit, which alone enables man to acknowledge spiritual truth and enhance him to produce righteous deeds: "Regeneration is an entire change produced in our nature by which our sentiments, affections, purposes and conduct are altered... It extends to all the faculties... Illumination of the mind is the beginning of holiness and it immediately produces love to God".¹⁵⁶

In his discussions about deism, Alexander brought up the significance of 'affection', by which Jonathan Edward was motivated to found the Great Awakening Movement in order to challenge the insentient souls. Alexander's increasing concern for 'affection' supplied him with a clue to the fact that Christ "is in himself the most lovely and excellent of all beings".¹⁵⁷ He found love as the supreme virtue and, thus man should keep seeking for love. As he had said that "Affections govern and move the will", man's love for happiness is natural, as far as he finds it within the realm of God: "God is the only satisfying portion of an immortal soul".¹⁵⁸ He went so far as to criticise deists who searched for truth in the wrong objects. The major problem, he said, with the opponents of Christianity is that they would not regard Christianity as reasonable "because it [Christianity] is inconsistent with the course of conduct which they are inclined to pursue".¹⁵⁹ Of course, Alexander meant to say their pursuit was after worldly happiness. In his later life, Alexander argued against deism more on the aspect of intellectualism than morality.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 59. (Quoted from A. Alexander, "But As He Who Hath Called You Is Holy So Be Ye Holy in All Manner of Conversion" MS Sermon, "A. D. 1795," PTS, pp. 1-3).

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 54.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 55.

The difficulty of man's spiritual inner experiences lies in the obscurity of a believer's faith and its lack of accessibility to discernment. Alexander stated that neither appearances nor external virtue could prove the genuine of one's faith. Therefore, he suggested three facts or tokens to distinguish faithful Christians from others: 1) those who are "United to Christ... by the operations of the spirit; 2) those who are wearing "the image of Christ. This is Holiness... It consists principally in love to God and to Man; and 3) those who are following the example of Christ. To imitate him".¹⁶⁰

As opposed to Thomas Paine's argument (one of the greatest patriotic proselytizers of the American Revolution) about the inconsistency of the Bible with natural law, especially in the Bible's account of the miracles, young Alexander proposed that the apostles who witnessed the work of the Holy Spirit among the early churches were not deceivers nor self-deceivers. Basic to Alexander's point of view is his emphasis on Common Sense Philosophy: "it is universally agreed that the testimony of our senses is the most certain evidence which we can have".¹⁶¹ Furthermore, when Alexander identified the written record with divine revelation and asserted, against Paine's criticisms of revelation as aristocratic rather than democratic (i.e. Paine understood the Bible to be non-contemporary and non-individualistic), that revelation is a body of objective information, we can see Alexander had placed the doctrine of Calvinistic predestination in a uniquely privileged position.¹⁶²

Reformed understanding of theology stretched out to a greater extent in Alexander's mind after he had experienced the diversification of theology in New England. Having encountered the Unitarian, Arian, Edwardsean, Universalist, humanitarian, and Arminian views of Christianity, Alexander came to believe in what came to be known as Old Princeton theology, a position which explicitly

¹⁶⁰ Ibid. (Quoted from A. Alexander, "Almost Christians", MS Sermon, "A. D. 1794", PTS, pp. 8-16).

¹⁶¹ Ibid., p. 57.

¹⁶² Ibid.

rejected ecclesiastical unity with any kind of 'heretical' view.¹⁶³ It was not that he meant to reject all of Jonathan Edwards' ideas, but Alexander rejected those of his followers, such as Samuel Hopkins. Hopkins, while interpreting Calvinistic theology in the light of the Enlightenment, suggested that God's sovereignty rests on the point where He allowed his creatures to enjoy their total happiness by permitting sin. Particularly interested in the 'will' of man, Hopkins further noted that only man's affections and will are depraved, whereas his intellect remained morally unimpaired.¹⁶⁴ Uncertainty of God's sovereign act upon human is, therefore, implied in the Hopkin's theology, together with his presumption of unregenerated man's 'ability' to decide whether or not he would respond to God.

Using his rational and religious philosophical principles as methodological tools for understanding theology, Alexander discussed the problem of knowledge (epistemology) as seen in the modern philosophy. In regard to the question "How does man attain that knowledge of 'distinct and certain precepts' (this refers to Descartes's 'clear and distinct ideas') or, to use Alexander's own phrase 'sound and legitimate reasonings?'"', Alexander considered the dualistic ideas of Descartes: the relationship between mind and matter, and between observing subject and observed object.¹⁶⁵ However, departing from Descartes' rationalism, and turning to British empiricism and Locke's assertion that man gains knowledge from simple ideas obtained from the senses, Alexander asserted that knowledge of God is not innate and only comes through empirical experience (such as observing and experiencing divine preservation of nature and His revelation concretised in the Scripture).

A descriptive approach to Christian experience, whether it takes the form of a philosophical analysis or a psychological analysis, has to deal with divine relationship with human mind. Alexander said that Christian experience comes via

¹⁶³ Ibid., p. 76. Loetscher notes that such a "strong doctrinal exclusivism remained a notable characteristic of the Old Princeton Theology from the time of Archibald Alexander to the days of J. Gresham Machen, and was the issue that touched off the division of the Seminary in the 1920s."

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 73.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 163.

the impact of God's truth (the Bible) on the human mind.¹⁶⁶ Although Alexander had separated 'intellect' from 'affections', following his psychological tradition rather than the revivalist tradition, he seemed to consider the human mind as consisting of both feelings and rationalities, which he thought were two crucial factors in man's encounter with God's truth. In this particular case, 'understanding' of the Scripture becomes the base for the Christian zeal of the 'affections'. Alexander said that "the regenerated person is firmly persuaded, not only of the truth, but of the excellence and beauty of divine objects".¹⁶⁷ This phrase clearly shows his understanding of man's feeling and volition being united by the compelling observation of rationality. Applying the theory of 'cause and effect', objective truth (revelation) being cause and subjective truth (Christian experience) being effect, Alexander wrote: "There are two kinds of religious knowledge... intimately connected as cause and effect... These are the knowledge of the truth as it is revealed in the Holy Scriptures, and the impression which that truth makes on the human mind when rightly apprehended".¹⁶⁸

Strongly embracing the Bible as the truth, Alexander placed it above all other sources that could enhance spiritual experience. He was quite positive that humans enter into divine experience through the witness of the Bible when faith is given by the Holy Spirit. So, in Alexander's mind, it was not Christian experience which led man to the Bible, but the Bible guaranteed man's spiritual experience. In an epistemological sense, of course, he explained that the unbeliever might not respond directly to the Bible, but when he was intellectually convinced by an entirely different mode of contact about the 'existence of God' he would demonstrate his faith towards the Scripture.¹⁶⁹ As much as his attention was focused on 'reason'

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 169.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 171.

¹⁶⁹ Alexander had three possible sources of natural theology (the idea of God) in his mind:
1) it is innate; it is handed down by tradition through the diverging races and peoples of the world from an original revelation; or it is discovered by reason. This does not necessarily mean such an idea is already formed at birth, but in the limited sense that all human beings have the capacity to recognise the reality of the idea when it is properly presented.

being an indispensable precondition of faith in a practical sense, Alexander saw the Bible as an ultimate source for understanding God. The inspiration of the Bible became Alexander's tool for distinguishing a true religious experience from a false experience.

The Bible, according to Alexander, is to be understood primarily in terms of divine revelation, and its inspiration must be presupposed in any case. It was not a matter of mere history, if by 'history' one means historians' written subjective-intellectual interpretations of the human circumstances. Alexander seemed to believe that the Bible was wholly prepared, through the period of Old Testament and then by the life of Jesus and apostles in the New, for the gradual refining of man's religious mind in order to ultimately lead him to the realm of God. Alexander had a considerable skill in both Latin and Greek, and mastered Hebrew with the aid of a learned Jew. He discussed the Bible, within the context of God's saving grace, as one of the ways God communicates with His people. Thus, citing Bible's full authority over church and congregation, Alexander affirmed the value of the Scripture as follows:

The credit of the whole volume would not be destroyed, even if it could be proved that one-half the books of which it consists are spurious. Infidels have much more to effect in overthrowing the Bible than they commonly suppose. It is incumbent on them to demonstrate, not only that this or that book is false, but that every one of these productions is destitute of evidence that it has been derived from the inspiration of God.¹⁷⁰

In discussing the value of the Bible, Alexander clearly bore in his mind the canonical authority of both the Old and the New Testament, which came through a strict measurement of the manuscripts' contents and background. This canonical work was done by the early Church Fathers on the bases of external and internal evidence. Thus, only those manuscripts that which consisted of sufficient divine

2) it has been transmitted like language from parent to child from the original revelation by God—presumably God's self-revelation to the first humans, Adam and Eve.

3) It comes through reason; based on cause and effect and intuitive truth (Lefferts Loetscher, op. cit., pp. 193-194).

elements were received into the canon. There was no doubt, in Alexander's mind, that sixty-six books of the Bible were written by "inspired men who were moved by the Holy Spirit". In accordance with tradition, copies of the original manuscripts of Mosaic law (Pentateuch) were placed in the most holy place, while extra copies were distributed for religious purposes. When the idolatrous reign of Manasseh and Amon took place, the Pentateuch was suppressed and ignored. However, being upheld again during the reign of Josiah, the Pentateuch was considered as the sacred writings of Moses.¹⁷¹

Encountering various arguments on the matter of acknowledging the authority of the Scriptures, especially whether those writings contained sufficient proof to ensure that the contents were the word of God, Alexander referred to his own analysis and other prominent conservative scholars' studies of the canon. As external evidence to support the canonical authority of the Scriptures, Alexander first turned to the Church Fathers who had gone through an examination of ancient manuscripts written by inspired people. The Church Fathers had a decisive role in judging the values of the ancient manuscripts. This canonical work used the careful studies of history, archeology, and literature. In addition to this, it was also important whether those writings were significant to synagogue and church.

In regard to the internal evidence, Alexander counted highly the quotations and references to Jesus Christ and apostles, which were used as a part of the objective criteria drawing the line between canonical and non-canonical writings, such as apocrypha and pseudepigrapha. At the same time, believing that the canonical books were entirely recorded by inspired prophets and apostles, Alexander gave concern to the intimate relationship between authors and their writings as another internal evidence. Making a sharp distinction between canonical and non-canonical writings, Alexander made three observations. Firstly, he noticed that every book either "referred to or quoted in the sacred writings is not necessarily an inspired or

¹⁷⁰ Archibald Alexander, *The Canon of the Old and New Testament Ascertained; New Edition*, Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter, 1885, p. 10.

canonical book". He explained, "because Paul cites passages from the Greek poets, it does not follow that we must receive their poems as inspired".¹⁷² Secondly, Alexander viewed inspiration as an occasional work of God when he said, "a book may be written by an inspired man, and yet be neither inspired nor canonical".¹⁷³ It is clear then, that the writers of the Scripture were inspired only for particular purposes, and normally remained in the same consciousness as other people. Alexander's third point was that the Bible is an authoritative deliverance of divine truth to the universal church and, thus, some inspired writings of the biblical authors would not necessarily be included in the canon: "It may be maintained, without any prejudice to the completeness of the canon, that there may have been inspired writings which were not intended for the instruction of the church in all ages, but composed by prophets for some special occasion. These writings, though inspired, were not canonical".¹⁷⁴

The canon of the New Testament was also accredited by the same procedure. As a response to those who posed skepticism over the authority of the New Testament Scriptures before their sanction by the fathers of the church, Alexander affirmed, "that every one of these books was of authority, as far as is known, from the moment of its publication; and its right to a place in the canon is not derived from the sanction of early church or council, but from the fact that it was written by inspiration".¹⁷⁵ Concerning himself with the inspired gospel writers such as Matthew, John, Peter, and Paul, and with the historical fact that the Scriptures were written by witnesses of the events or those who received testimony from actual witnesses (presumably Alexander was referring to oral tradition), Alexander felt himself called upon to pronounce the absolute authority of the New Testament Scriptures, even before they were collected into one volume.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 22-23.

¹⁷² Ibid., p. 73.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 75.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 99.

In his extensive writing on the canonicity of the Bible, Alexander also included his response to J. D. Michaelis' objection to the canonical authority of the Gospel of Mark and Luke. Michaelis found it difficult to acknowledge the inspiration of Mark and Luke's Gospels. The more Michaelis investigated and compared these two Gospels with the Gospels of Matthew and John, the greater were his doubts. Michaelis' skepticism was based on the credibility of the two apostles; he seems to have had in his mind that they were merely indirect disciples of Jesus Christ and they might have either simply compiled a number of unrealistic legendary 'events' into their own gospels. Rather than discussing the gospels from the perspective of their being individually unique and yet synoptic, Alexander's answer to Michaelis' remark came directly with his affirmation of the 'plenary inspiration' of Mark and Luke:

Now, if these two disciples had been uninspired, or not under the immediate direction of apostles who possessed plenary inspiration, it would have argued great presumption in them, without any direction, to write gospels for the instruction of the church. The very fact of their writing is, therefore, a strong evidence that they believed themselves to be inspired. But, neither of them mentioned clearly in their writings about Holy Spirit's guidance, but it was unnecessary: their conduct in undertaking to write such books is the best evidence that they believed themselves called to this work.¹⁷⁶

Alexander's attempt to defend and institute the Bible as divine word and 'complete rule, both of faith and practice', greatly contributed to the shaping of his apologetics, which was transmitted to Park in a later period. Alexander's apologetics was centred on 'truth and reason'. While he spoke of 'truth' as a divine revelation, he opened up a direct relationship of truth with human reason. His idea basically lay upon divine will revealed at the level of human reason, and we can tell this was obviously signifying man's potentiality of direct awareness of divine revelation via his reasoning, when he said, "If a book claiming to be a divine revelation, is found to contain doctrines which can in no way be reconciled to right

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 148.

reason, it is a sure evidence that those claims have no solid foundation, and ought to be rejected".¹⁷⁷

Having been deeply motivated by the eighteenth-century anti-deistic writers, Alexander's apologetics provided both external and internal evidence of the Bible's distinctiveness and its consisting of divine revelation. More than any other clues, miracle and fulfilled prophecy, which no sage could ever imitate, were Alexander's external evidence. Hume's understanding of miracle as the violation of 'natural law' would leave no significance to Alexander who believed that "natural law is simply the way God operates and the fact that we have never seen him operate in any other way does not prove that he has not done so".¹⁷⁸ Furthermore, the internal evidence of God's existence and wisdom, which he believed was demonstrated in God's creation of this material world, offered a sense of divine communication with human beings. It must be added that, by viewing the Bible from the standpoint of God's intervention in Israel's history, Alexander confirmed all knowledge about the world lead to understanding the one true God. "If the knowledge of the true God as received by the Jews was the discovery of reason, why was it that other nations, advanced far beyond them, in learning and mental culture, never arrived at the knowledge of this important truth"?¹⁷⁹

By working from his Christian philosophical, psychological and theological perspectives, Alexander aimed to overcome the antitheses which had emerged in his time between the Enlightenment and Pietism, reason and Christian experience. Although his analysis of synthesis between revelation and human rationality at times encountered contradictions (i.e. when he said that human reason could obtain the knowledge of revelation and, yet, everything which relates to 'Infinite Being' is beyond the fathom of human reason), he offered quite a profound way to construct a theology bridging the Bible and general scholasticism. Alexander's efforts in one way or another, took a major role in planting Princeton theology in conservative

¹⁷⁷ Lefferts A. Loetscher, *Facing the Enlightenment and Pietism*, op. cit., p. 177.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 179.

ground, and was carried further by Charles Hodge in a broader range of systematic theology.

2.1.2.3.2. Charles Hodge (1797-1878)

Charles Hodge, as a teacher, clergy, and theologian, had conducted himself with passion and weight during the stages of his career in Princeton Seminary. His theology in general was judged as Calvinistic in its method.¹⁸⁰ One of his students, C. A. Salmon from Scotland, wrote in his biographical sketch about Hodge as a theologian: "As regards Dr. Hodge's place as a theologian, the opinion may be simply recorded that, confining our view even to one of his works—his *magnum opus* on 'Systematic Theology'—the name of Charles Hodge is not likely to be dimmed for many a decade by the great subject he so comprehensively and learnedly treats... Hodge was the greatest incubator of theological 'progress' that this century has seen".¹⁸¹

In his *Princeton Sermons*, a collection of doctrinal and practical discourses delivered at Princeton Seminary on Sabbath afternoons, Hodge dealt with Christian fundamental doctrines in the light of biblical and theological implications. Starting with his understanding of God and His attributes, Hodge laid out a number of other major Calvinistic interpretations of theological themes in his volume. In his picture, God is transcendental, and, yet comprehensible; God has revealed Himself through constant relationship with His creation. More specifically God, being Creator of the universe has made Himself known to humanity by fully engaging in and directing their history. To offer a better understanding of his explanation, Hodge turned to one of the major attributes of God, 'omnipresence'. According to him, "God is

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ C. A. Salmond, *Charles & A. A. Hodge with Class and Table Talk of Hodge the Younger*, Edinburgh & London: Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, 1893, p. 50.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., p. 49.

present at every point of space in every moment of time". He continued, "He is thus spaceless and timeless; for these are limits which apply not to Him but to us".¹⁸²

Hodge was thinking of God's omnipresence in connection with His eternity and sovereignty. This concept prompted him to explore the following three ideas: 1) "that the universe exists in God; 2) that all the intelligence indicated in nature is the omnipresent intelligence of God and; 3) that all the efficiency manifested in nature is the *potestas ordinata* of God".¹⁸³ Things we see in nature actually prove that God lives and preserves His creation. Hodge's system requires a careful examination of two basic factors, reason and the Scripture, in understanding 'the true doctrine' taught by the apostle Paul. This doctrine is that God is a personal being who is distinct from the world and, yet, has never withdrawn from anyone but guides and controls all things. Firstly, although he acknowledged the efficacy of reason, upon which Archibald Alexander had grounded his understanding of revelation, Hodge alerted his students to the misuse of reason which might merely end up as speculation. In the simplest and most intelligible way, according to Hodge, reason drove man as if all things were manifestations of God. The most conspicuous examples of these, he said, were Pantheism, deism, and New Platonian doctrines, by which man attempted to find his religious consciousness in nature. Secondly, Hodge affirmed that the teachings of Scripture are "congenial to our whole nature, intellectual and moral".¹⁸⁴ The life of human being is of God and in God, thus there is no such thing as a second cause, apart from God's sustenance. The presence of God in every believer makes "dependent for natural, for intellectual, and for spiritual life".¹⁸⁵

As far as Hodge's understanding of God's omnipresence was based on the supremacy and infinity of God, his Calvinistic view of God's sovereignty seemed to have embraced the idea of God's absolute power over His creation. In regard to

¹⁸² Ibid., p. 156.

¹⁸³ Charles Hodge, *Princeton Sermons: Outlines of Discourses, Doctrinal and Practical*, London: Thomas Nelson And Sons, Paternoster Row, 1879, p. 1.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 3.

'absolute power', Hodge carefully mentioned that it was not to be taken that God would make sin holy or *vice versa*. Although, he said, actually there is no other authority rather than His own will and reason to which God is subject, His acts are just according to His infinite reason. The legitimacy of God's authority over His creation, Hodge said, was not only found in the title 'Creator and Proprietor', but in all of His attributes. Concerning the sovereignty of God, Hodge suggested three proofs of God's sovereignty: 1) "the express and innumerable declarations of the Scriptures on the subject; 2) the actual administration of the providence of God, and the actual dispensations of his grace and; 3) the consciousness and experience of all believers".¹⁸⁶ Hodge's three-point proof actually restated the fundamental beliefs of Calvinism (which considered the Bible as the ultimate source of truth, and emphasised God's providential care, which viewed everything as working according to the will of God, and the Spirit's illumination of the hearts of believers), which were his central principles and, he felt, were reliable bases for systematic theology.

Hodge's Reformed theological concept was also significantly developed in his discourses on Christology. Centering his conviction on the doctrine of three persons in one God, Hodge conceived of Christ as the Second person of the Triune God. The essential facts that Bible teaches about the Trinity, Hodge said, were

That the Father, Son, and Spirit, are so distinguished, the one from the other, that each is the source and the object of action; the Father loves and sends the Son; the Son loves and reveals the Father; the Spirit testifies of the Son and is sent by him... We believe in the Son, as we do in the Father, and honor the one as we do the other. Christianity, therefore, not merely as a system of doctrine, but as a practical religion, is found on this doctrine. The God who is the object of all the exercise of Christian piety, is the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.¹⁸⁷

In discussing the distinctive features of Christ's divineness, he simply accepts the notion explicitly implied in the name 'Immanuel' (God is with us). "God's giving to the Son of the virgin the name Immanuel, was a revelation of the fact that

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 4.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 5.

¹⁸⁷ Charles Hodge, *Essays and Reviews*, New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1857, p. 453.

God was to be with us".¹⁸⁸ Strict and firm belief in Christ's conception by the Holy Spirit and virgin birth, which was one of the cardinal doctrines Princeton Seminary held. Hodge described a significant union between God and man, visible in the person of Christ. This he approached from viewing Christ as the Redeemer of the world, and as crystallisation of God's incarnation into human flesh.

Hodge's understanding of salvation through God's grace in redeeming work of Christ obviously rejected the ideas of Pelagius and Erasmus (1466-1536), whose teachings gave some value to the contribution of a human's ability to his own salvation, and also Gnostic teachings of Christ as merely one of the higher aeons sway his belief in Christ's divine and human nature. "In the constitution of his [Christ's] person, the divine nature was united with a perfect human nature, so that the one person known as Christ, possessed and possesses all the divine perfections".¹⁸⁹ It thus appeared to Hodge that the role of Christ in the Trinity was to reveal the will of the Father as the Messiah and the Saviour. It was basic to Hodge, also, that the 'quality of Saviour' should be perfectly divine with saving grace, and perfectly human without sin, so that the word of prophecy could be fulfilled. Conceiving of Christ, in any circumstance, as merely human without divinity, or as divine with no distinctive human nature, would be totally contrary to the Saviour promised in the Bible. Therefore, the uniqueness of Christ's death must be seen in the light of his nature as both God and human, but giving emphasis to Christ's divine nature implied that it was God who suffered death for the purpose of man's salvation. As a result of Christ's death, Hodge affirmed, that at least four things were fulfilled: 1) "the actual salvation of the church; 2) the destruction of the kingdom of darkness; 3) the development of angels and; 4) the highest display of the divine perfections".¹⁹⁰

Some important doctrinal processes, which obliged man to enter into relationships with God, are secured by the death of Christ. Justification,

¹⁸⁸ Charles Hodge, *Princeton Sermons*, op. cit., p. 27.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 31.

sanctification, reconciliation to God, a title to eternal life, and all the exaltation and blessedness are securely accomplished by the ministry and death of Christ. The nature of salvation, which is mirrored in the Bible as a gaining of eternal life and eternal companionship with Christ, is hence uniquely explored in the lives of the believers. A gift of salvation, to Hodge, conveyed two-fold messages: that the believers are granted with eternal life; and that God had revealed His unconditional love and sincerity to human beings. The redeeming act of Christ indeed cordially carried out the will of God the Father and, most of all, revealed the very image of God his Father. These explanations make it plain that Hodge would have never endured neither the Islamic view of Christ as one manifestation of the divine among others, nor Judaism's denial of Christ as the Son of God. "Revelation is from the Father, through the Son, by the Spirit. Redemption is to the Father, by the Son, through the Spirit".¹⁹¹

In connection with 'Christian experience', which Archibald Alexander had embraced as one of the crucial elements to be considered in one's moral life, Hodge provided his own explanations of religious experience in the light of 'one's entrance upon the Christian life'. From his own standpoint, "the soul [of man] has in its moral and religious nature a higher element of value than that which belongs to its mere rational nature or capacity for joy and sorrow".¹⁹² It appears that Hodge had conceived of the soul as having the capability of partaking of the image of God, basically through God's knowledge, righteousness and holiness. By the regeneration of the soul which man received in Christ, man comes to understand that his lack of holiness and righteousness have been restored by Christ. Hence Hodge affirmed that "the estimate which God makes of the value of the soul is shown in the provision which he has made for its salvation".¹⁹³ Because God is the sole cause of the

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 34.

¹⁹¹ C. A. Salmond, *Charles and A. A. Hodge with Class and Table Talk of Hodge the Younger*, op. cit., p. 167.

¹⁹² Charles Hodge, *Princeton Sermons*, op. cit., p. 118.

¹⁹³ Ibid., p. 119.

righteousness and holiness of the soul, its purpose should be to manifest the glory of God. It is undisputed that the value of soul is endowed through God's revelation.

In defining the term 'regeneration', Hodge conformed to the complete change of inner belief rather than outward reformation. It is not the change in substance of the soul, but a change of nature, for example "of that inward immanent disposition or spiritual state which is behind all voluntary or conscious activity, and which, in the things of God, determines that activity".¹⁹⁴ In understanding Hodge's view of regeneration it should be noted that no man can rationally be suspicious of his own regeneration experience. In other words, a radical change that comes through the work of the Spirit is so evident that it reveals its power spontaneously. However, it can be asked why are some truly converted people in doubt. Hodge confidently found the answer from, firstly, man's "swoon or cataleptic state of mind", and secondly, "taking a wrong standard of judgment, assuming the necessity of evidences which they do not find in themselves".¹⁹⁵

How do people realise that they are regenerated? Assuming that answering to this question does not take 'metaphysical or microscopic' examination of one's mind into account, Hodge chose to discuss the question as follows. There are, he said, certain signs which prove that a person is not regenerated, and one of those signs is infidelity. By infidelity, he meant one's intentional rejection of the major doctrines of Scripture. Following this point, identified 'conscious aversion to Christ' and making of self as the ruler and the purpose of life, refusing to submit to Christ and his law, as evidence of unregenerated person. On the other hand, Hodge noted the implications of positive points: "as regeneration is the work of the Spirit, as it consists in the Holy Ghost entering the soul and there abiding as a principle of a new life, it follows that evidence of his presence is the natural and inevitable effect of the presence of a source of light, of love, of power, of holiness, peace and

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., pp. 137-138.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 138.

joy".¹⁹⁶ All regenerated souls, thus, are enlightened by the Spirit to conceive what is substantially true, and confess Jesus to be true and Saviour of the world. A regenerated person is also empowered to overthrow sin and follow the conformity of divine law.

Hodge's discourses also covered the authenticity and authority of the Scriptures. The drift of Hodge's view of Scripture seemed to challenge some of the radical assumptions of the deists and evolutionists, and to show that what makes Scripture to be the Scripture is the 'word of God', written by 'pious men'. Since God is the Author of sacred writings, all of His revealed words, thoughts, will, and purposes are not to be understood as "a human form of divine truth, but God's own exhibition of truth".¹⁹⁷ Hodge asserted so emphatically, when he intended to present Scripture as the word of God, that Scripture is the ground of faith.

Of this evidence to the inspiration of the Scriptures, which is contained in the Scriptures themselves, and which by the Spirit of God is revealed and applied to the hearts of the devout readers of the Bible, it may be remarked, in the first place, that it is of itself perfectly adequate as the foundation of a rational and saving faith, and that it applies to all parts of the sacred volume; partly because it is found in all parts, and partly because the different portions of the Bible, the historical, and doctrinal, devotional, and perceptive, are so connected, that they mutually imply each other, so that one cannot be rejected without doing violence more or less to the whole. In the second place, this evidence is in fact the ground of the faith of all the true people of God, whether learned or unlearned. Whatever other evidence they may have, and which in argument they may properly adduce, they still are believers, in the true sense of that term, only so far as their faith rests on this inward testimony of God with the truth, revealing and applying it as truth to the heart. In the third place, this is the evidence on which the Scriptures challenge universal faith and obedience. It is the ground on which they rest their claim, and on which they pronounce a sentence of condemnation on all who do not believe, as not of God, for if they were of God, they would know of the doctrine whether it was his or not. In the fourth place, it is obvious that this evidence, in all its fullness and force, may be exhibited to a man, who knew nothing from others of the origin of the Scriptures, even to one who should read them for the first time in a desert island. Such a man being convinced by this evidence that the Scriptures were the word of God; or finding that the writers who propounded these truths, and who exhibited such moral excellence as to secure his entire confidence, declared themselves to be inspired, constantly disclaimed being the discoverers or authors of the doctrines which they taught; when he hears them always speaking in the

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 288.

name and by the authority of God, as his messengers, he receives their declaration with full credence.¹⁹⁸

By the 'word of God', Hodge meant that Scripture is holy as certainly as it is powerful and consistent. Its content is just appropriately manifested at the level of human knowledge; it is intrinsically profound, and yet so plain that every one can learn for himself the 'treasury of divine things'. It was in this manner that Hodge emphasised the study of the Bible in depth under different aspects. For instance, as far as Scripture in itself contains history from the creation to the present time, man may obtain a clear knowledge of its facts, while "bearing of those facts on ethnography, on the civilisation of the world, on the destiny of the nations generally, and on the religions of men".¹⁹⁹ Again, Hodge found studying Scripture quite meaningful within its 'organic relations', such as comparing God's interaction in the lives of people in the Adamic period with the Abrahamic, the Abrahamic with the Mosaic, the Mosaic with the prophetic, and all of the Old Testament period with the Christian ages. His emphasis on the study of Scripture from a doctrinal standpoint was no less significant. Careful examination of God's nature and His perfection, His concern with the physical and spiritual world, the Trinity, the person and ministry of Christ, and the Holy Spirit should be studied. Besides these methodological approaches, Hodge suggested other important ways to grasp the word of God. He viewed Christianity as neither a pessimistic nor a optimistic religion, but a genuine religion stemming from the principle of divine God, by whose revelation (His personality, purpose, and works) man finds the place to put his trust.

2.1.2.3.3. Benjamin B. Warfield (1851-1921)

Benjamin B. Warfield came to prominence at Princeton Theological Seminary following in the footsteps of Alexander Archibald and Charles Hodge. In 1887,

¹⁹⁸ Charles Hodge, *Essays and Reviews*, op. cit., pp. 191-192.

¹⁹⁹ Charles Hodge, *Princeton Sermons*, op. cit., p. 290.

Warfield was appointed to the faculty and started teaching systematic theology. In many ways, Warfield's theology shared traits with that of his predecessors. An extensive discussion of Warfield, particularly, on the theological arguments of many prominent theologians, including Tertullian, Augustine, Charles Finney, and Albrecht Ritschl, reminiscent of Calvinistic doctrines espoused by his mentor, Charles Hodge.²⁰⁰ John R. Mackay, a professor at the Free Church College, once acclaimed Warfield as "the most able and learned defender of orthodox Calvinism in the present generation".²⁰¹ It is necessary to question whether it is appropriate to view his theological outlook as orthodox, although some of his arguments combine to explore traditionalist propositional orthodoxy. Warfield's understanding of biblical inerrancy has no foundation in Calvinism. This will be examined in later pages. In this section, I mainly focus on Warfield's apologetics and understanding of the Trinity, which later influenced Hyung-ryong Park when he defined Korean fundamentalism.

Particularly, Warfield's emphases on 'apologetics' and the 'inspiration of Scripture' appear to resemble the concerns of Charles Hodge. This is hardly surprising, since Warfield had been a student of Charles Hodge during his theological courses at both Princeton College and Princeton Seminary.²⁰² Many of Warfield's views about biblical scepticism and an emphasis on apologetics seem consistent with Hodge's doctrinal point of view.²⁰³ However, Warfield found his own ways to explain the necessity of retaining 'Calvinist' tradition in the face of the General Assembly's approval of some academic liberty in 1892. Despite this approval of scholarly freedom, the majority of Princeton professors, including

²⁰⁰ William K. Selden, *Princeton Theological Seminary: A Narrative History 1812-1992*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992, p. 75.

²⁰¹ John R. Mackay, *B. B. Warfield: Bibliography*, The closing Address for Session 1921-1922, given in the Free Church College, Edinburgh, on March 23, 1922, by Rev. Prof. John R. Mackay. P. 26.

²⁰² William K. Selden, *Princeton Theological Seminary*, op. cit., p. 57.

²⁰³ Harriet Harris states that Hodge's understanding of biblical infallibility differed from B. B. Warfield's in that Hodge based his biblical inerrancy on the doctrine of biblical inspiration, whereas Warfield insisted that biblical inspiration should be proved by presenting evidence (Harriet Harris, op. cit., p. 138).

Warfield, preferred to maintain Old Princetonians' understanding of 'Calvinist' doctrines. This was observed by John F. Hageman, a trustee from 1851 to 1892, as follows: "The class of independent and advanced thinkers who believed in human progress, in the better understanding of the Bible, and in the better use of language, is small in the Presbyterian Church, and will not, for many years at least, cause a reaction against the conservative school at Princeton. The Seminary is well anchored therefore in the Calvinistic doctrines—otherwise known as the Princeton Theology".²⁰⁴

With regard to the use of apologetics in attaining Christian understanding, Warfield wrote: "When we speak of Apologetics as a science, we have our eye not on the individual but on the thinking world. In the face of the world, with its opposing points of view, and its tremendous energy of thought and incredible fertility in attack and defense, Christianity must think through and organise its, not defense merely, but assault. It has been placed in the world to *reason* its way to the dominion of the world. And it is by reasoning its way that it has come to its kingship. By reasoning it will gather to itself its all. And by reasoning, it will put all its enemies under its feet".²⁰⁵ In that these statements of Warfield show that he had conceived of the newly emerging tendency of radical philosophy and theology as no more than a potential danger to orthodoxy, we can almost hear the echo of Archibald Alexander, who counterattacked the metaphysical wonders of rationality with his conscious faith in the Supreme Being (which he had attained via Scottish Common Sense Philosophy). Although Warfield's analysis of 'reason' did not pay much attention to the question of the epistemological basis for such an issue of 'faith by reason' or 'reason by faith', his emphasis on 'human reasoning' made a clear distinction between so-called 'non-faith-based reasoning' and 'faith-based reasoning'. His understanding of the latter was formally based on the premise that

²⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 75. (Quoted from John Hegmen, *History of Princeton and Its Institutions, Two Vols*, Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Company, 1879, p. 376).

²⁰⁵ John R. Mackay, *B. B. Warfield: Bibliography*, op. cit., p. 28. (Quoted from Princeton Theological Review, p. 147).

nothing revealed by God can be unreasonable when it is pursued. Hence, a worldly 'reason', blinded with infidelity, can only find its rightful place when it is challenged by the genuine purpose and value of 'reasonings' specified by God for His own good.

In his *Studies in Tertullian and Augustine*, a collection articles by Warfield were contributed to encyclopaedias, reviews and other periodicals, the doctrine of the Trinity as viewed by Tertullian, and the doctrine of Knowledge and Authority, as understood by Augustine, are thoroughly analysed from the Calvinistic point of view. In the day of Tertullian, the idea of Trinity was rarely mentioned, so Christians at large possessed only a superficial understanding of the Triune God. It might be more appropriate to say that, because of the polytheistic nature of their views, they were inclined to Monarchianism. Although, Tertullian and Hippolytus criticised the Monarchian view of the Trinity as a dangerous element to Christianity, Warfield also seemed to find difficulty in consenting with Callistus' view of Trinity, which read: "the same Logos is at once Son and Father, distinguished in name, but really one individual Spirit, ... and that the Spirit incarnated in the virgin is not different from the Father but one and the same... For that which is seen, which is of course the man—it is that which is the Son; but the Spirit which is contained in the Son is the Father, since there are not two Gods, Father and Son, but one. Now, the Father being in him [Jesus], seeing that he had assumed the flesh, deified it by uniting it with Himself, and made it one, so that the Father and Son are called one God, while this person being one cannot be two, and so the Father suffered along with the Son".²⁰⁶

Definitely upholding the hierarchical concept of the Triune God (placing the Father on top of the Son), Callistus attempted to view the Father-Son relationship in terms of 'uniting', rather than perceiving the Son as having the same divine essence as the Father. Callistus was, according to Warfield's view, trying to explain that the

²⁰⁶ Benjamin B. Warfield, *Studies in Tertullian and Augustine*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1930, p. 12.

Father was the Spirit which united with the Son who was merely human. So, the idea of 'the Father suffering with the Son' is to be understood as the Spirit's (the Father) partaking in the suffering of the flesh (the Son). Callistus was intentionally avoiding acknowledging that the Father suffered on the cross. Thus, Warfield pointed out that Callistus' point of view distinguished the Son from the Father "not as the incarnate differs from the unincarnated God, but rather as the incarnating man differs from the incarnated Spirit".²⁰⁷ This makes Jesus, he further noted, no more than *ἄνθρωπος* (anthropos) in whom God dwelt. As a whole, the theological problem lay, for Warfield, where Tertullian's opponents sought to divide the Father and the Son, not according to their individual roles, but in their aspects of divinity. They argued that placing the Father in the sufferer position is blaspheming His greatness and so it was better to say that it was the Son who suffered while the Father only co-suffered (*compatitur*).

Through Tertullian's invention of the doctrine of Trinity and sharing of his Christian testimony in the discussion of *Against Praxeas*, Warfield came to think that Tertullian's view potentially remained a tenable expression of Trinitarianism, prior to the rise of the Arian controversy. Trinitarianism, which Warfield thought was originated in the gospel and developed later under the influence of the Logos Christology, was gradually formed in the Christian community as a measure against Gnostic emanationism. The Logos Christology was adopted by Tertullian from the Apologists as a proof of his formulation of the unity of the Trinity. Warfield noticed that the Logos Christology was planted in the ground of 'Jewish religion' and 'Gentile speculation'. Its emphasis was wholly fixed on "the transcendence of God", from which idea Apologists derived the 'Logos' as God's intermediate. Primarily relying on the eighth chapter of Proverbs and the first chapter of John's gospel, they came to be sure that the historical Jesus was the Logos. These passages

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

explain, said Warfield, that "the Logos was in principle God conceived in relation to things of time and space: God, therefore, not as absolute, but as relative".²⁰⁸

The purpose of the Logos was to explore God's relation to things of time and space through His manifestation in creation. Its idea involves God's relativity from his absoluteness, rather than as Warfield stated. A divine being is submitted to time and space to deliver the will of God. From this concept, Warfield described, the Gnostics developed a theory of emanation, which viewed the Logos as the protrusion of God. Gnosticism's concern with the Logos resulted in making the Logos emanations proceeded from the 'fountain-deity' rather than thinking of the Logos as a 'source-deity' itself. Warfield, opposed to the Gnostic system of the Logos, explained: "the Logos speculation conceived God as personal, the procession of the Logos as a voluntary act on the part of God, and the Logos itself as, so to say, a function of the eternal God Himself, never escaping from the control of His will, or, as it might be more just to say, from participation in his fullness".²⁰⁹ Warfield further explained that the value of the Logos speculation in the first age of Christianity lay in Christian thinkers preserving the unity of God while maintaining God as the Creator and governor of the world.

As Warfield read in the twenty-first chapter of *Apology*, one of Tertullian's earlier treatises written in about 197 AD, he understood that Tertullian's idea of the Trinity was constructed upon the speculations of the Logos Christology. The Logos Christology was a positive and effective tool for Tertullian because it strengthened Tertullian against the arguments of the Monarchians. The following paragraph of Tertullian's development of Logos doctrine shows why Warfield thought Tertullian's attempt was essential in his challenge to Modalistic Monarchianism.

We have been taught that the Logos was produced (*prolatum*) from God (*ex Deo*) and in [this] production generated, and therefore is called the Son of God and God, because of (*ex*) the unity of the substance, since God also is Spirit. Just as when a ray is put forth (*porrigitur*) from the Sun, it is a portion of the whole (*portio ex summa*), but the sun will be in the ray, because it is a ray of the sun, and is not separated from the

²⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 19.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 20.

substance, but stretched out (*non separatur substantia sed extenditur*); so Spirit [is extended] from Spirit and God from God, as light is kindled from light. The *materioe matrix* (source of the material) remains entire and undiminished (*integra et indefecta*) although you draw out from it many branches of its kind (*traduces qualitatibus*): thus also what is derived (*perfectum*) from God is God and the Son of God, and the two are one. In this manner, then, He who is Spirit from Spirit and God from God made another individual in mode [of existence], in grade, not in state (*modulo alterum numerum, gradu non statu facit*), and did not separate from but stretched out from the source (*et a matrice non recessit sed excessit*). This ray of God, then, descended into a certain virgin, as it had always been predicted in times past...²¹⁰

Thus, the heart of Tertullian's doctrine of the Trinity, which Warfield discovered, was his own belief in 'one only God' under the *oikonomia* (oikonomia or economy), which explained that the "one God has a Son, His Word, who proceeded from Himself... who also sent from heaven, from the Father, according to His own promise, the Holy Ghost, the Paraclete, the Sanctifier of the faith of those who believe in the Father and in the Son and in the Holy Ghost".²¹¹ Tertullian's basic concept of the Triune God, along with the idea of proportionate equality in each person of the Godhead, was largely inherited by Augustine²¹² and Calvin,²¹³ who perceived the persons of the Trinity as the coordinate sharers of the one divine

²¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 29-30.

²¹¹ Ibid., p. 44.

²¹² Ibid., pp. 105-107. Although Augustine at times disagreed with Tertullian's views, such as when Tertullian said that 'invisibility' of the Father is what distinguishes Him from the 'visibility' of the Son, it is clear that Tertullian had in his mind the idea of *unius substantiae* (one substance), and, as Dorner had mentioned, Tertullian was aware of an inward connection of the Three Persons. Augustine argued that the Son and Spirit are, as much as they are equally God with the Father, also invisible with the Father. Warfield wrote that the fourteenth chapter of the tract *Against Praxeas*, contained "that the Son also, considered in Himself, is invisible". It seems the argument is over the matter of the characteristics of the Three Persons but considering the incarnation of God, in which Three Persons became visible, while sharing the same essence and attributes, Tertullian's assertion is not very different from Augustine's understanding of the equality of the Three Persons.

²¹³ Following the Trinitarian doctrine of the early church, Calvin understood the concept of the person in the Godhead as follows: "'Person', therefore, I call a 'subsistence' (*subsistentia*) in God's essence (*essentia*), which, while related to the others, is distinguished by an incommunicable quality. By the term 'subsistence' we would understand something different from 'essence'. For if the Word were simply God, and yet possessed no other characteristic mark, John would wrongly have said that the Word was always with God [John 1:1]. When immediately after he adds that the Word was also God himself, he recalls us to the essence as a unity.... Nor am I displeased with Tertullian's definition, provided it be taken in the right sense, that there is a kind of distribution or economy in God which has no effect on the unity of essence". (John Calvin, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion Book I, 13, 6*, Trans. Ford L. Battles & ed. John T. McNeill, London: SCM Press, 1960, p. 128).

essence (*homoousios*). Tertullian's doctrine of the Trinity which was later developed by Augustine, therefore, opened up a perspective of Christian faith based on biblical data, and gave Warfield an opportunity to see the potential of a better construction and explanation of the Trinity system.

In his article *Augustine's doctrine of Knowledge*, Warfield introduced not only the Augustine's idea of knowledge as it related to the Christian faith but also expressed the reasons why he could adopt Augustine's view to his own rationale. As a rationalist (the opposite of a sensationalist, who believed that human knowledge is derived exclusively from sensation), Augustine based his principles of reasoning on the idea of theistic intuitionism. By intuitionism, Augustine meant to say that ideas are "natural to man in the sense that they inhere in his nature as such, and are not impressed on him by external nature".²¹⁴ These ideas are described as innate in the sense that they were the part of human nature from the beginning of creation. Of course, this did not necessarily mean, to Augustine, that ideas were simply impressed on the mind or installed in its organic structure. Rather Augustine viewed souls, said Warfield, as 'constantly dependent on God' since God is not only the Creator but also the 'Upholder and Director' of their beings. This makes God a constant Illuminator and Sanctifier of human thoughts. Augustine's ontological view of 'innate ideas', which are the immediate product of God the Illuminator in the soul, are thus grounded upon the idea that human soul is indebted to God's guidance in perceiving truth.

Seeing the soul is confined to a double environment (the sensible world and the intelligible world), Warfield explained that the soul perceives God in the intelligible world through the intellect, as in the same manner it perceives the sensible world via the senses. Still not identifying God with the intelligible world, Warfield further noted that God is to be observed as an immediate author of the intelligible world rather than the intelligible world itself; "He is in the soul of man not *substantialiter*

²¹⁴ Benjamin Warfield, *Studies in Tertullian and Augustine*, op. cit., p. 143.

but only *effective*.”²¹⁵ While taking into account Augustine’s ontology of the intuition, Warfield found in this the two factors which Augustine seemed to employ: “the doctrine of the image of God, and the doctrine of dependence on God”.²¹⁶ These factors seem to construe that man’s capability of attaining truth actually rests upon the idea that he was made in the image of God, whose intellect Augustine believed was the origin of the intelligible world and, thus man’s soul possesses a similar faculty of intellect. In addition, Warfield noted that the soul of man is never left alone because God continually reflects the contents of His own ‘eternal and immutable mind’ into the man’s soul. Thus Warfield understood that Augustine viewed man’s soul as causally inferring intellect from constant communion with God, and deriving all reasoning from God’s intelligible truth.

This contribution of Warfield to the understanding of Augustine’s argument is itself a testimony of his faith in God the Sovereign. It was not surprising for him to find in Deism, on one hand, inconsistency in its teaching of God’s absence along with Augustine’s assertion of man’s dependency on God while, on the other hand, he found in Pantheism lack of endowment which has implications for man’s role in seeking intelligible truth. Augustine’s theistic disposition served him as a basis for interpreting man’s reliance on God for all man’s activities. What Warfield gained from his analysis of Augustine’s thought was that the soul is in action only because it is ‘acted upon’ by God first.²¹⁷ In other words, only when the soul is activated in the light of God, the sun of the soul, can it possibly see light.

By considering the structure, substance, and sequence of Augustine’s doctrine of knowledge, Warfield was able to understand Augustine’s idea the ‘spirit of a pure theism’, which stemmed out of the biblical presupposition that all who come to the true light are illuminated with true knowledge. Warfield clarified the essence of his statements by quoting: “Sun of the soul, by whose illumination alone can

²¹⁵ Ibid., p. 145.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 145-146.

intelligible verities be perceived",²¹⁸ and further he mentioned that the 'Light of the Truth' alone awakens the knowledge of truth in the soul. Thus, Warfield endeavoured to identify Augustine's understanding of 'Light of the Truth' with the personal Logos, through whose incarnation "all things exist exist, all things that live live and all things that understand understand".²¹⁹ God, then, as the ultimate source and provider of the human knowledge, is the sole author whom humans should consult for knowledge. What we call 'understanding', according to Augustine, is performed in two ways: "either by the mind or reason within itself, as when we understand that the intellect itself exists; or on occasion of a suggestion from the senses, as when we understand that matter exists: in the first of which two kinds of acts we understand by consulting God concerning that which is within us; while in the second we understand by consulting God regarding that of which intimation is given us by the body and the senses".²²⁰

Warfield took these statements as genuine formulae for attaining Christian knowledge. 'Incommutable virtue of God' and 'His eternal wisdom' are the sources of knowledge for both senses and intellect. Warfield thus affirmed that the ultimate ground of man's certitude is found in his confidence in God. Since God is depicted as the author of true knowledge, man finds his knowledge valid in the immanent act of God. It was part of Warfield's purpose to assure us that Augustine had no intention of placing the human mind in a passive role, as if the 'nature or state of the acquiring soul' is disqualified from the acquisition of knowledge. Rather, Augustine's argument, Warfield said, is that the man's reason is the recipient of the eternal wisdom which is 'actually laid open to it' (unfolded to it, *panditur*) in the process of man's seeking contact with God. This mode of thinking was highlighted in the epistemological discussions of both Archibald Alexander and Charles Hodge. We might as well think these men, as well as Warfield, had put forward their understandings of the importance of reason or knowledge with reference to

²¹⁸ Ibid., p. 146.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

Augustine's well-known doctrine of knowledge. They are similar, though they used different descriptions in their explanations, at least in perceiving God as the source and provider of human reason, by whose divine illumination they thought human minds attain faith. Seeing that it is through divine sanctification of religious awareness which is innate in man, these theologians emphasised the role of man's reason in coming to the true knowledge of God.

The authority of the Bible, no doubt, was the basis for Warfield's great theological themes, and it was with its guidance that he sought to cultivate and advance the idea of 'absolute dependence on God'. In his article entitled "The Real Problem of Inspiration", Warfield hammered out his affirmative view of the historic Christian Church that held the Bible as the word of God. He founded his belief on the following evidence: 1) "It is exactly what the New Testament teaches on the subject of the nature of Scripture and; 2) Implicit credence is due to our Lord and His Apostles in this as in the other Christian doctrines which they delivered us".²²¹

If we examine Warfield's article on Augustine's doctrine of the authority of the Bible, we see that Augustine had identified Scripture as the revelation of God and inspired words written by accredited apostles who had God's full authority. Augustine's view of Scripture becomes clear when we note he affirmed that the authority of the canonical writings was, "confirmed from the time of the apostles by the successions of the bishops and the propagations of the churches, has been established in so lofty a position, that every faithful and pious mind submits to it".²²² Dealing with the matter of passing judgment on authoritative books, Augustine warned against Jerome and, more times, against the Manichaeans' subjective dealing with the Scriptures. Giving full authority to the apostolicity²²³ of

²²⁰ Ibid., p. 147.

²²¹ John R. Mackay, *B. B. Warfield*, op. cit., pp. 35-36. (Quoted from *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, 1892, pp. 177-221).

²²² Benjamin B. Warfield, *Studies in Tertullian and Augustine*, op. cit., p. 179.

²²³ Warfield noted that Augustine found the authority of the Scriptures in his principle of apostolicity. His principle lay on the point where Jesus Christ appointed and endowed the apostles to be the founders of his church. The fact that the apostles were witnesses of God's revelation, as embodied in the life and teachings of Christ, ensured most Augustine's belief in the authority of

the Scriptures, Augustine declared the act of judging the Scripture "is not to be subject for faith to the authority of Scripture, but to subject Scripture to ourselves: instead of approving a thing because it is read and written in the sublime authority of Scripture, it seems to us written rightly because we approve it".²²⁴

From this point of view, Warfield explained that Augustine had adhered to the authority of tradition and the Church. This is to say that the authority of the Scripture is well supported by its apostolicity, which was explicitly exhibited in the tradition of the Church. The tradition of the Church is constructed upon historical evidence, which Augustine believed was validated by the superiority of Scripture. Hence, when the Church bears witness to the Scriptures, it was not necessarily due to the authority of bishops or councils, but rather due to the prevalent apostolicity of the canonical Scriptures which fixed the tradition of the Church as the true subject of the revelation of God. Warfield added at the end of his article, "man being a sinner is unable to profit by general revelation". He went on to say that special revelation, God's direct intervention in man's life through the prophets and apostles, were brought to bear on man by the Church, where God's grace actively restores men's abilities. For both Augustine and Warfield, the renewal of man's soul rests solely upon the grace of God as revealed in the Scriptures. The canonical Scriptures, which were inherited by the Church, therefore, become the sole means by which man is guided by faith to attain to true knowledge.

2.1.2.3.4. The Influence Upon Hyung-ryong Park

I have briefly examined the theological understandings of three prominent Princeton theologians: Archibald Alexander, Charles Hodge, and Benjamin Warfield. Their teachings of theology and apologetics influenced Hyung-ryong Park in various ways as will be shown in the following paragraphs. Largely following the

Scripture. Furthermore, it was Jesus himself who commanded his words and deeds to be written by those disciples. Thus, what the apostles have recorded for the churches of Christ was the inspired word of God (*Ibid.*, pp. 178, 189).

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 180. (Quoted from "Contra Faustum Man", xxxii. 19).

Old Princeton theological tradition, Park's understanding of Christian theology was exhibited both his 'Calvinist' and fundamentalist theological convictions.

In his treatise "Epistemology of Dogmatic Theology", Park discussed the principles of knowledge in relation to the origin and purpose of man's rationality. Beginning with his own recognition of the complexity of explaining the process of man's understanding of divine truth, Park chose three principles: the principle of existence, the principle of external revelation, and the principle of internal revelation (*principium essendi, principium cognoscendi externum, and principium cognoscendi internum*)²²⁵ and applied them to his discussion of epistemology. Concerning knowledge, the first of these ideas perceives of God as the principle of existence while the second perceives of revelation as the external principle and the third perceives of faith and reason as the internal principle. These three ideas of knowledge were considered in depth by Park, in his attempt to gain an understanding dogmatic theology. Park's dogmatic theology was primarily focused on man's pursuit of knowing God, and dealt with special revelation more than general revelation and placed more emphasis on faith than reason. Park considered three theological assumptions (the existence of God, man's religious character, and the revelation of God) which were drawn from Warfield's *Studies in Theology*, to be the fundamental elements in the operations of man's rationality.

Park argued that when we speak of God as the principle of existence, particularly in dogmatics, we confess that all our knowledge about God originates from God Himself. This is to say, God is absolute and perfect in His own self-awareness through His unfathomable ontological nature, in which neither a subconsciousness nor an unconsciousness of mind is present. Thus, in connection with God's absolute self-consciousness, Park projected human knowledge as conceived by God's divine knowledge. Thus human knowledge should be considered as genuine knowledge, though it is no more than a 'dimmed duplication'

²²⁵ Hyung-ryong Park, *A Complete Works of Dr. Hyung-ryong Park Vol. I*, Seoul: Korean Christian Education Research Center, 1978, p, 143.

of God's perfect knowledge.²²⁶ Human knowledge is imperfect in that it attains knowledge only through its projection of objects. On the other hand, God is self-conscious and is the source of all knowledge. When this view is examined in relation with the assumption of 'man's religious character', it is clear that Park had perceived that man's tendency to reason about God is innate. By the possession of this knowledge man becomes aware of God and understands His being. Park understood that man is able to acknowledge his Creator by innate knowledge and, at the same time, claimed that man's knowledge is only a 'dimmed duplication' of God's perfect knowledge. How could it be possible for a man, with imperfect knowledge, to understand transcendent God? To understand accurately as possible what Park was trying to say, it is essential to turn to Alexander for a minute, since he possessed the same ontological view. Alexander said that the idea of God is innate "not in the sense that it is already formed at birth, but in the limited sense that all human beings have the capacity to recognise the reality of the idea when it is properly presented".²²⁷ Of course, by human capacity, Alexander meant knowledge which is limited, but still essential to knowing God. In the same manner Park understood that the innate knowledge possessed by humans remains valid if it is found in the self-consciousness of God, and not in the consciousness of human, as deists often claim.²²⁸ Park's idea gives us an impression that God, being the Creator of the universe, possesses the whole idea of His own creation and, hence what man cognises of this material world is derived from the very cause (that is, God) of that existence.

This notion of 'cause and effect' applied not only in dogmatics, but also in general scholarship. A prototype of God's knowledge concerning His own creation is demonstrated in all kinds of ideas manifested throughout creation. This pattern of thinking ultimately fixed God as the origin of all scholarship, for man's knowledge is confined to the realm of God's creation. Park explained that man's knowledge in

²²⁶ Ibid., p. 145.

²²⁷ Lefferts A. Loetscher, *Facing the Enlightenment and Pietism*, op. cit., p. 193.

relation to this material world is 'incomplete and partial' whereas God's knowledge is always 'perfect and inclusive'.²²⁹ This doesn't necessarily mean that Park disagreed with the possibility of development of knowledge. His attempt to prove the origin of man's knowledge implied the progression of man's knowledge, since man's innate religious character becomes the basis for further knowledge which is often obtained through the process of general and special revelation. The same idea was applied to Alexander's dualistic entity of true knowledge. While considering objective truth (God's revelation) as cause and subjective truth (Christian experience) as effect, Alexander claimed that man understands God through the Bible, that is, a system of truth, and a full possession of this true knowledge would enhance man to experience God's being.²³⁰ Hence, both Alexander and Park held the view that man's knowledge or experience of God is progressive in its character, in the sense that it is promoted by the degree of one's awareness of God's revelation.

Park found the relevance of positioning God's revelation as the external principle of knowledge in both general scholarship and dogmatics. For him, the external principle of knowledge in general scholarship is obviously found in nature which God created. "From His prototype-knowledge, God transmitted patterns of knowledge to His creation, and it was in the finite consciousness of humanity that this knowledge was accommodated. Since these patterns of knowledge are a duplication of the prototype-knowledge of God, it is generally perceived as genuine knowledge. However, it is not completely transparent knowledge nor absolute genuine knowledge, for not only it is manifested in finite form, but also in the creation world where the vestiges of sinful acts are occupied".²³¹ Park's assertion placed Logos, the Word of God, as an operator of creation, through whom God transmitted His knowledge to human beings, as a means of revealing Himself

²²⁸ Hyung-ryong Park, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

²³⁰ Lefferts A. Loetscher, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

²³¹ Hyung-ryong Park, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

explicitly to the whole world. Undoubtedly, as was case for his Princeton predecessors, Park's view of God's transmittance of His knowledge to human being brought a great challenge to the assumptions of Idealism. When God is absolutely understood as the cause and transmitter of human knowledge, idealism (which believed in man's own ability to invent and construct his own ideal world) seemed inanity to Park. Park's finding of absolute power and the ultimate cause of all knowledge in God actually coincided with Alexander's recognition of God's existence. Alexander's empirical emphasis on the experience of God does not base its idea on the ontological argument of Descartes (in which Descartes was preceded by Augustine and Anselm—that the concept of a Supreme Being proves that God exists), because such an idea “attempts to prove the being of God with[out] any reference to the existence of the external world”.²³² Employing a combination of Calvinistic conception of universal human sinfulness with a positive view about human reason, Alexander concluded that “the knowledge of God has been perceived in the world by tradition... It has been transmitted like language from father to son” from the original revelation by God (to the first humans).²³³ Also acknowledging the possibility of moral argument that “the existence of God may be inferred from the operations of the moral faculty”,²³⁴ and Newton's cosmological understanding that the universe is created by divine intelligence, Alexander asserted that “in receiving a revelation, it must be assessed as true that there is a God who makes the revelation... Therefore this truth cannot originally be established by revelation”.²³⁵ This statement indirectly implies that even atheists are in the realm of God's reach, in that they cannot escape from revelation. It is by means of a person's innate capacity that he or she is able to acknowledge the presence of God. It is, thus, the basic understanding of Alexander and Park that humanity's universal sinfulness dims their hearts, rather than their heads, and hence often hinders man from

²³² Lefferts A. Loetscher, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

²³³ *Ibid.*

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

discerning the revelation of God. For this reason, Alexander and Park turned to the Scriptures, which they believed were inspired and authoritative, as the solution to the skeptical minds of humans.

In the field of dogmatics, Park explained that God's willingness to pass on His knowledge to human beings is implemented through special revelation. For this revelation, Park sought to specify the Bible as containing knowledge about God. Park perceived that God had no specific intention to offer special revelation in the first place, since His revelation in creation (general revelation) was accurately displayed in its full scope. Hence, Park taught that the fall of man was the cause of the dimness of general revelation. Due to the depravity of man's mind, then, the Bible becomes the unique and absolute means through which corrupted man encounters God's knowledge. Therefore, said Park, "the Bible is the institutional causal efficiency (*causa efficiens instrumentalis*) or sole principle (*principium unicum*)".²³⁶ Park agreed with Calvin's statement: "Although the truth of general revelation is dimmed to some extent, it rather reveals God sufficiently and distinctly to keep man away from making any pretext".²³⁷ However, proceeding further from Calvin's statement, Park added that one shall not "place the general revelation on a similar level to that of the Bible, for nature could convey God's true knowledge to humans only when it is construed in the spiritual light of Scripture".²³⁸ Warfield actually held a similar view in the superiority of special revelation to general revelation. He believed that although man has possessed a knowledge of God through the "manifestations of God in nature and providence" (general revelation), "the actual knowledge of God which is framed in the human soul is affected by the subjective condition of the soul".²³⁹ By 'subjective condition of the soul', Warfield meant a man's dulled instinctive apprehension of God, which resulted from the fall. Hence, the testimony of nature and history to God does no longer effectively

²³⁶ Hyung-ryong Park, op. cit., p. 147.

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ Benjamin B. Warfield, *Calvin and Calvinism*, London: Oxford University Press, 1931, p. 32.

emanate its light to the corrupted mind of humanity as it did in the beginning of creation. Warfield brings the Bible into the centre of human life as the sole means by which disordered human mind can fathom the revelation of God: "in these Scriptures alone, therefore, do we possess an adequate revelation of God; and this revelation is attested as such by irresistible external evidence and attests itself as such by such marks of inherent divinity that no normal mind can resist them".²⁴⁰ Here we might want to draw attention to the fact that both Park and Warfield held Scripture higher than general revelation, in the sense that God's creation is no longer in a state of holiness and is, therefore, less effective in speaking of God's existence and understanding of His divine knowledge. Their great interest in Scripture draws us close to the fact that man needs Scripture in order to regain true knowledge of God. However, the question is, what are the specific roles of reason and faith in the process of regaining knowledge of God through Scripture? Do reason and faith emerge as the crucial elements in such processes?

It is further evidence of the considerable influence of the Princeton theological tradition that Park, like Alexander, Hodge and Warfield, for a time regarded reason and faith as internal principles of knowledge. In discussing the priority of reason in general scholarship, as we should see in those three Princeton theologians, Park spoke of the harmony of external principles of knowledge (which was objectively actualised in the world created by God) with 'subjective affirmative receptivity'. This idea was actually portrayed by Alexander before Park. He did not believe that man is born with 'ready-formed ideas' but he was assured that "God has so constituted our minds that we cannot avoid believing in certain truths as soon as they are presented to the mind".²⁴¹ It is impossible, in Alexander's thought, that man obtains true knowledge unless it is 'apprehended by the reason or understanding'. Alexander's admittance and presupposition of man's subjective reason in acquiring knowledge about God influenced Park's assertion that reason is

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ Lefferts A. Loetscher, *Facing the Enlightenment and Pietism*, op. cit., p. 165.

a crucial to understanding of God's creation and providence. Following Alexander's epistemological apprehension, Hodge displayed from his own perspective a fundamental ground why reason is to be highly regarded in understanding divine testimony. Hodge considered that reason becomes, in the strictest sense, the path through which man communicates with God's revelation. His affirmation is described in the following sentences: "reason is necessarily presupposed in every revelation. Revelation is the communication of truth to the mind. But the communication of truth supposes the capacity to receive it".²⁴² At this point we see that Hodge perceived that one's faith is essentially based on intellectual apprehension of that very object of faith. In other words, when a person professes his or her faith in God, it should be assumed that the person has possessed a certain range of knowledge about the personality of God in advance. A person is not merely confessing his or her faith out of duty or by mysterious force. The true function of reason is indispensable to one's adherence to religious life. Nothing, thus, which is transmitted and admitted improperly to the brain of the recipient is effective or significant: "The first and indispensable office of reason, therefore, in matters of faith, is the cognition, or intelligent apprehension of the truths proposed for our reception. This is what theologians are accustomed to call the *usus organicus, seu, instrumentalis, rationis*".²⁴³ Park's observance of the significant relationship between faith and reason also finds its basis in Warfield's embracing of 'faith-based reason' and 'evidence-based faith'. Particularly in the face of anti-religious rationalism, Warfield claimed that "it [Christianity] has been placed in the world to *reason* its way to the dominion of the world. And it is by reasoning its way that it has come to its kingship.... And by reasoning, it will put all its enemies under its feet".²⁴⁴ When Warfield suggested that reason is the source of understanding the revelation of God, he bore in mind that it was not a kind of reason blinded with

²⁴² Charles Hodge, *Systematic Theology Vol. I*, London and Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1873, p. 49.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.

²⁴⁴ John R. Mackay, *B. B. Warfield: Bibliography*, op. cit., p. 28.

skepticism, but purely a faith-grounded reasoning and evidence-based faith. It is clear, then, that Warfield perceived God's revelation, actualised either in nature or in Scripture, as comprehensible to human when this revelation is desired.

The main point of the argument of Park and these three Princeton theologians was that God's knowledge was never placed upon man's mind by objective principles alone, but in concert with man's subjective receptivity. Park especially assumed that the theological value of external principles was inured by adapting the subjective receptivity to the objective actuality. "The very 'Logos' which reveals the wisdom of God to the world also shines the true light upon 'each inhabitant of the earth' to endow with reason that which contains the discretion of knowledge to human as the internal principle of knowledge".²⁴⁵

Alexander's conception of harmony between reason and faith, and of his emphasis of reason as the means by which man understands the truth of the world are sharply reflected in Park's notion of reason and faith in congruence. Park put forward the idea that reason makes enquiries about fundamental ideas, such as 'general, necessary, and eternal things', within the world where countless phenomena occur. Furthermore, it endeavours to reason about cause, substantial existence, and the ultimate purpose of the material world. Park proceeded to emphasise that, in the realm of general scholarship, reason is not the only operator, but that intuitive knowledge is entangled as a co-operator although reason is supreme. This is not unfamiliar to us because Alexander had also counted intuitive knowledge, in which he believed faith was conceived, an essential element which enables reason to proceed with religious belief. His concept of intuitive knowledge, based on Scottish Common Sense Philosophy, illustrates that no reason necessarily attains to the height of religious experience except that which subjects itself to the faith in God. He found in the nature of human a moral inability which makes man to turn to God's grace, and stated as follows: "Yet the meanest and most unlearned of the children of God can be made to understand the true nature of saving faith,

²⁴⁵ Hyung-ryong Park, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

because he has the experiences of it in his own soul; he has the witness in himself... Saving faith is no mere speculative faith".²⁴⁶ It is notable how firmly Alexander held faith and reason to be important in one's religious life; he regarded one's experience of faith as an internal evidence of Christianity. As much as it is stressed in Alexander's theological standpoint, Park's consideration of intuitive knowledge actually valued intuition as something which comprised of faith. For instance, physical science can be understood as an act of discovering the laws of nature but these 'laws' depend upon scientists' prior knowledge and beliefs. Park perceived that such an act on the part of a human is made on the basis of "faith that acknowledges our own existence, objective world, and the existence of others. Furthermore, it is similar to that of our belief in fundamental convictions, such as time, space, causality, substance, design, right and wrong, the affirmative divinity of faculty and relying on the testimony of our colleagues".²⁴⁷

The whole question of whether human reason in itself is a legitimate tool in seeking true knowledge of God was a matter to be decided by the Holy Spirit. As far as man's depravity is concerned, God's image in man is impaired, and thus both physical (ethical) immorality and spiritual decay took place in humanity. However, by not placing man's image in total despair Park affirmed that faculties (intellect, emotion, and volition) of the soul were not bereaved. Park gave much thought to the correlation between illumination of the Spirit and man's mental response. His assertion was that man still was able to use 'capable reason' and 'voluntary action of faith', though his image was enfeebled by his Fall, to discern truth revealed in creation. Again, following the teachings of Alexander, who regarded human reason as unimpaired,²⁴⁸ Park felt that human reason could aid seeking the truth of God, intentionally avoiding the concept that the Spirit replaced human reason, since this would reduce humans to mere machines. Giving full attention to the grace of the Spirit, which motivates the weakened soul of man, Park stated that man's voluntary

²⁴⁶ Lefferts A. Loetscher, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

²⁴⁷ Hyung-ryong Park, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

reason and faith become co-operative with the Spirit in the process of discerning true knowledge of God. Such an idea of man's guidance under the Holy Spirit is also reflected in Hodge's understanding of the Holy Spirit's ministry. While discussing the idea of Holy Spirit's guidance, Hodge claimed that the operation of the Holy Spirit is not a miraculous or abnormal one. It is rather a personal contact with individuals: it is 1) "consistent with our rational nature, liberty, and responsibility, 2) not a matter of consciousness. His influence mingles with our consciousness and determines it, but cannot be distinguished from it".²⁴⁹ He continued that what the Holy Spirit guarantees as the result of His guidance is 'the knowledge of the truth', which comes through His illumination, apart from the outward teaching of the Scriptures.

Reason is never unimportant in dogmatics, but Park perceived faith as the leading principle in theology. "Undoubtedly, reason is often considered as important internal principle in theology, but it is more adequate to put greater emphasis on faith... The Bible, in fact, never rejects any kind of action taken by reason in seeking the truth of God. It neither excludes regeneration, purification of heart, love towards the will of God, and illumination of the Holy Spirit from the category of internal principles, but it mainly indicates faith as the greater source".²⁵⁰ It is through faith, yielding one's ideas to God, that man comes to realise that the revelation of God is the truth of God. Park apparently made a sharp distinction between voluntary faith, which forms the basis of general scholarship, and the faith obtained by the grace of God for the study of theology. The thesis that faith is distinguished by voluntary and the grace of God, which Park developed in connection with his doctrine of a knowledge of God, is so fully confirmed by the chapter on faith in Hodge's *Systematic Theology* that we can infer Park had strengthened his argument based on Hodge's understanding of faith. Hodge perceived of 'voluntary' as 'will', which denotes every action of the mind as not

²⁴⁸ Lefferts A. Loetscher, op. cit., p. 98.

²⁴⁹ Charles Hodge, *Princeton Sermons*, op. cit., p. 82.

being purely intellectual. "And therefore to say that faith is a voluntary assent is to say that faith is not merely a speculative assent, an act of the judgment pronouncing a thing to be true, but includes feeling".²⁵¹ Although Hodge thought that faith is a voluntary assent to the truth, he denied that it is always the case. He explained that "whether feeling attends and enters into the exercise of faith, depends upon its object (or the thing believed) and the evidence on which it is found. When the object of faith is a speculative truth, or some historical event past or future; or when the evidence or testimony on which faith is founded is addressed only to the understanding and not to the conscience or to our emotional or religious nature, then faith does not involve feeling."²⁵² He is pointing out how often individuals assent to historical testimony without giving much emotion into it. Does Hodge speak of an important role for feeling in believing something? Obviously, he believed that feeling has much influence in determining individual's faith. He said this is more crucial when the objects of our faith are 'moral and religious truths'.²⁵³ Considering God as the object of Christian faith means that our minds are relying on God as true and worthy of confidence. Thus, it is on the presupposition that faith is founded on the testimony or authority of God, which was revealed in our consciousness and Scripture, that Hodge and Park believed that the truths of revelation commend themselves to the reason and powerfully and rightfully affect one's feeling. Park did not think that the differentiation between 'voluntary faith' and 'the faith obtained by the grace or authority of God' did not apply to essence, for he understood these faiths were alike in the sense that they were not produced from intellectual evidence. Immediately shifting his attention back to reason, Park brought reason and faith into close relation when he stated that "although origination of faith is not

²⁵⁰ Hyung-ryong Park, *A Complete Works of Dr. Hyung Ryong Park Vol. I*, op. cit., p. 149.

²⁵¹ Charles Hodge, *Systematic Theology III*, op. cit., p. 49.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

indebted to the intellectual evidence, its stage of preparation and reinforcement are impacted by the work of reason in a broad sense".²⁵⁴

Seemingly, according to what Park had stated so far, faith is regarded as the most important internal principle in dogmatics, in that it is very important in acquiring knowledge related to the salvation of humanity and restoration of creation. His emphasis on faith in understanding theology is based on the assumption that some elements of the Bible are irrational when they are examined from a rational point of view. Thus, only when the mind is illumined by the Spirit, will it be granted faith to understand and accept the knowledge of God as revealed in the Bible. As such, the testimony of Spirit brings to soul faith to proceed with regeneration. It is the work of the Spirit that eliminates 'the spiritual darkness of understanding' and leads souls to visualise the glory of God. Park used Calvin's statement to indicate further affirmation of man's knowledge by the Spirit. "The testimony of the Holy Spirit transcends all reasons. Since God Himself is the only sufficient witness to His own word, God's word would not be accounted by the soul of man, unless it is confirmed by the inner testimony of the Spirit".²⁵⁵

In mentioning the importance of the work of the Holy Spirit as an aid to recovering the dimmed soul from sin, Park affirmed the Holy Spirit as *causa efficiens* which brings persuasion upon all the motivations in pursuit of faith. In his concept, the inner witness of the Holy Spirit is not to prove that the Bible is the word of God. Objectively speaking, it was an established fact to Park that Scripture testifies itself as a given word of God, regardless of what scientific and historical evidence offers. What Park saw as the role of the Spirit was, then, its illumination of the weakened soul to enable it to see the divine characteristics of Scripture. This view is also reflected in Charles Hodge's writings:

The witness of the Spirit is not an affirmation that the Bible is the Word of God. Neither is it the production of a blind, unintelligent conviction of that fact. It is not as is the case with human testimony, addressed from without to the mind, but it is within the mind itself. It is an influence designed to produce faith. It is called a witness or

²⁵⁴ Hyung-ryong Park, op. cit., p. 150.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 175.

testimony because it is so called in Scripture; and because it has the essential nature of testimony, inasmuch as it is the pledge of the authority of God in support of the truth.²⁵⁶

In referring to the illumination of the Spirit, Park was not simply expressing the opinion that the Spirit is the objective witness of God towards man, but also that his witness is related to the work of salvation caused by the sacrifice of Christ. Park conceded that the Spirit “regenerates sinners not only in his existence but also in his consciousness”.²⁵⁷

By referring to texts such as Matthew 19:28, Titus 3:5, or John 3:3, 5, 8, Park identified ‘regeneration’ (παλιγγενεσία) or ‘to be reborn or undergo rebirth’ (γεννάω, ἄνωθεν, ἀναγεννάω) as the ‘newness of spiritual morality’.²⁵⁸ These Greek nouns bear significant implications in the sense they not only distinguished regeneration from conversion and justification, but also drew sharp distinctions between the concepts of regeneration held by Manichaeism, Roman Catholic or semi-Pelagian and Old Princeton theologians, such as Archibald Alexander and Charles and Archibald Hodge. Whereas the former groups generally conceived of regeneration as the change in substance of the soul based on the presumption that the substance of the soul was depraved, the latter theologians, including Park himself, viewed it as the complete change of ‘inward immanent disposition’. Alexander, as shown in the earlier section, viewed regeneration as the change in sentiments, affections, purposes and conducts of believers.²⁵⁹ This true illumination of the Spirit in a believer’s inner being is wholly taken by God’s act of renewing a man’s spirit to produce holiness in his soul. Alexander viewed regeneration as solely the work of God in the inner being of man. This corresponds with Park’s understanding of God’s changing of man’s inward immanent disposition. The

²⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 176. (Quoted from Charles Hodge, *Systematic Theology Vol. III*, London and Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1874, pp. 69).

²⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 175.

²⁵⁸ Hyung-ryong Park, *A Complete Works of Dr. Hyung Ryong Park, Vol. V*, op. cit., pp. 152-153.

²⁵⁹ Lefferts A. Loetscher, op. cit., p. 59.

principal reason Park opposed the views of Manichaens and Illyricus (Matthias) Flacius was that they made God the originator of sin, and that they perceived Jesus, conceived in human substance, as a partaker of sin, just like ordinary human beings.²⁶⁰ Flacius believed that original sin resulted in the substance of the soul becoming corrupted, and thus, regeneration is the process of recovering the loss of substantial purity of the soul. Hodge also criticised the Flacius' doctrine for its extreme view of regeneration (its inconsistency with the nature of sin and holiness), and stated as follows: "regeneration does not consist of any change in the substance of the soul".²⁶¹ Rather, he suggested that regeneration is a new birth, by which he meant the soul entering upon a new state or God imparts a new form of life to the soul.²⁶²

Park further distinguished inappropriate definitions of regeneration from those he thought were *apropos*. He affirmed that regeneration is neither a variation of emotion resulting from the elimination of one's aversion towards divine things nor a variation of intellect simply caused by the illumination of an infected mind. 'Regeneration', Park stated, "affects the Scriptural language of 'heart' which becomes the central and jurisdictional institution of soul, and the source of the flow of life".²⁶³ In other words, the regeneration of the Spirit, which triumphs over man's heart (or 'volition'), is a righteous act on the part of God to restore the divine moral dispositions of the soul. It is a prevalent state of human soul before regeneration that it is likely to act independently of divine law or will. We are here confronted with a question about whether regeneration was equated with sanctification in Park's understanding and, if so, whether we are to suppose that Park believed regeneration to be the indication of complete change (or holiness) in human nature? The orientation of Park's view towards regeneration strictly excluded conversion and

²⁶⁰ Hyung-ryong Park, op. cit., p. 157.

²⁶¹ Charles Hodge, *Systematic Theology III*, op. cit., p. 6.

²⁶² Ibid., pp. 33, 35.

²⁶³ Hyung-ryong Park, op. cit., p. 158. See also Hodge, *Systematic Theology III*, op. cit., p. 16. Hodge indicated that the biblical expression of 'new heart' does not mean "simply a new state of feeling, but a radical change in the state of the whole soul or interior man".

sanctification; it is the beginning of a holy life.²⁶⁴ 'Regeneration', Park clearly reaffirmed, "does not mean what Anabaptists and other religious fanatics proposed as entire change in human nature, which makes man transcendent of sin".²⁶⁵

Park's positive attitude towards the concept of regeneration was grounded upon Scriptural references. From such Scriptures as Jn. 3:3 and 5:21, Rom. 6:13, Eph. 2:1 and 5:14, Acts 16:14, Ps. 51:10, and Eze. 11:19, he drew an explanation of how the Spirit operates within the inner being of man while he regenerates. His definition of regeneration, suggested by these Scriptural references, were an "implantation of the new spiritual principle of life into man" and "fundamental renovation of soul's subjective dispositions".²⁶⁶ This point of understanding was reflected in Archibald Hodge's writings on regeneration, where he perceived regeneration as change in intellect, emotion, and volition.²⁶⁷ Since Park understood regeneration as the supernatural effect of the Spirit upon immoral souls, and that such change is holistic rather than complete, he was quite sure regeneration was wholly bestowed by God alone, without any human intervention. Similar to Hodge, who also saw God as the author of regeneration, Park asserted God's unfailing regeneration. Park quoted the following statements by Hodge to strengthen his argument. "Regeneration does not consist of any act or acts of the soul". This is to say that "regeneration is an act of God... It is God who regenerates. The soul is regenerated. In this sense the soul is passive in regeneration, which (subjectively considered) is a change wrought in us, and not an act performed by us".²⁶⁸ It is difficult to dispute with Park's ideas when he speaks of God's sovereignty and special grace being the basis and route of

²⁶⁴ Ibid. See also Hodge, *Systematic Theology III*, op. cit., p. 5. "By a consent almost universal the word regeneration is now used to designate, not the whole work of sanctification, nor the first stages of that work comprehended in conversion, much less justification or any mere external change of state, but the instantaneous change from spiritual death to spiritual life... Regeneration, therefore, is a spiritual resurrection; the beginning of a new life".

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

²⁶⁶ Ibid., pp. 158-159. Park divided the soul into four factors: substance, faculties, habit or dispositions, and acts or exercises. It is upon disposition and acts that Park understood regeneration to take place. However, regeneration primarily acts upon disposition which is the cause of acts.

²⁶⁷ Ibid. (Archibald A. Hodge, *Outlines of Theology*)

²⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 162. (Quoted from Charles Hodge, *Systematic Theology Vol. III*, op. cit. pp. 7, 31).

regeneration. Regeneration, as a part of God's special grace, never fails to penetrate the soul of man since it is in a recipient state. In the case of general grace, however, which Park thought was endowed by God for everyone, irrespective of his or her belief, grace is often rejected by the resistance of sinners and hence becomes ineffective. At this point we recall the Calvinist character of Park's whole understanding of the doctrine of predestination. Just as certainly as special grace was particularly for the elect, so certainly the change which God effects in man's soul results in man's submission to God. Therefore, the fact that man is regenerated by the special gift of God is important in man pledging to God and being granted with salvation. Within this light, Park believed regeneration was crucial to believers' stepping into fellowship with God, and a way to live according to the will of God.

Clearly the Princeton theologians' understanding of the canonical authority of the Scriptures and biblical inerrancy, which later became the central theological theme of fundamentalism, influenced Park's own depth of understanding the Bible and its religious implication. The following statement is Park's own definition of the Bible which he believed was the common theological standpoint of the orthodox church: "the Bible, consisting of all teachings revealed in God's revelation, is uniquely provided by the revelation of God through the inspiration of the Spirit, and is free from any mistake".²⁶⁹ Park noted that the Bible expresses in itself the identity of God. What tells in the Bible is what He is revealing to us and, thus, it is the very word of His own. On what basis can it be argued that the Bible is from God and that, thus, it is the word of God and not of man? For clarity's sake Park spoke from three points of view that which assure the Bible to be God's word. Firstly, Park viewed that the "Bible is a sole document of God's direct self-instruction".²⁷⁰ It is only by referring to the Bible, he said, that we can discern the self-instruction of God, which was revealed to the Israelites in the form of divine oracle through the

²⁶⁹ Hyung-ryong Park, *A Complete Works of Dr. H.Y.P., Vol. VIII*, op. cit., p. 36.

²⁷⁰ Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. XIII*, op. cit., p. 105.

prophets and Christ. Divine revelation was not intended to be limited to one particular ethnic group nor a single generation and, hence, it was recorded securely and accurately by His inspiration for the people of all ages. Generally, the basic argument of Park's first point lies in the historical fact that God had particularly chosen Israelites to communicate His will to them, and what He had shown to them throughout the history was, in fact, written down in the form of sacred writings. Park actually emphasises here reverence for the inspiration of the Bible as much as Alexander and Hodge did. Alexander once noted that "the credit of the whole volume [Scripture] would not be destroyed... every one of these productions [the Scriptures] is destitute of evidence that it has been derived from the inspiration of God".²⁷¹ As his statement indicates, the inspiration of the Bible originates from God by whose authority every word in the Bible was written. The idea of the authority of the Bible for Hodge is no different in its argument from that of Alexander and Park; he stated that "the infallibility and divine authority of the Scriptures are due to the fact that they are the word of God; and they are the word of God because they were given by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost".²⁷² To these theologians, it seems the integrity within which Christianity emerges and within which it testifies are dominated by the authority of the Scriptures. They all considered God as the chief Author of the whole Scripture, while human writers were only secondary authors. On the bases of the idea that we see the Bible as the sole document of divine revelation and that it has transmitted His revelation accurately to us, Park confirmed that the Bible is to be identified as the word of God.

Secondly, something that makes the Bible to be the word of God is proved by the idea that God proceeds His word with action.²⁷³ Park affirmed that God has constantly been transmitting His revelation to humans through the means of the Scriptures, and actualises His will in the thought and life of humans. The Bible does

²⁷¹ Archibald Alexander, *The Canon of the Old and New Testament Ascertained; New Edition*, op. cit., p. 10.

²⁷² Charles Hodge, *Systematic Theology I*, op. cit., p. 153.

²⁷³ Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol, XIII*, op. cit., p. 106.

not find its uniqueness only in its supernatural content of narratives, but also in its continuing discourses through which humans hear the voice of God. "The Holy Spirit uses the Bible as the primary source for the regeneration of sinners, perfection of saints, and extension of the church".²⁷⁴ Unless the Bible is the word of God which everywhere and always proceeds supernatural operation in human life, it would not possibly be regarded as the word of God. This does not seem to mean that the value of the Bible by its historical narratives alone, but also its dynamic link between past, present and future have opened up for us the way to God. The Bible is not for Park, thus, merely a basis on which we find who God is, but it enlightens recipients to see that God is in action, that is, He is always present with, preserving and sustaining His people.

Thirdly, Park viewed the Bible, which was inspired by the Holy Spirit, as the word of God, in the sense that it conveys the will of God.²⁷⁵ Concerning the revelation of God which was given through the prophets and apostles, Park briefly comments here that one could possibly think that the Bible contains a genuine revelation of God, and yet is missing a part of the revelation or contains something which should not be regarded as a part of true revelation. However, he would not agree with this point of view. The Bible, which he believed was inspired in every word and aspect, he could never fail to convey the truth of redemption and its historical evidence. He would not deny that the Bible was written by the hands of human writers and that their personalities greatly contributed to the composition of the sacred writings. Such an idea of 'organic inspiration', as we shall see in a later chapter, is suggested by Hodge as the correct doctrine of the church. Hodge stated "...that the sacred writers were the organs of God, so that what they taught, God taught. It is to be remembered, however, that when God uses any of his creatures as his instruments, He uses them according to their nature... The sacred writers were

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

not made unconscious or irrational".²⁷⁶ Here we wish to draw attention to the fact that Hodge rejected the idea of 'mechanical inspiration'. He draws up proofs for true understanding of biblical inspiration and explains the concept of inspiration from its coalition of supernatural and natural aspects. By natural aspect, he means that God did not use biblical writers as merely stenographers, but as whole human beings with self-consciousness, whom He created in His own image. On the other hand, by supernatural aspect, he mean to say that they were "moved by the Holy Ghost, and their words were his [God's] words".²⁷⁷ Particularly, in speaking of biblical authority, Park, along with Hodge, stressed that organic inspiration does not indicate the possibility of mistakes in the Bible, because God has perfectly communicated His will through the inspired penmen. With this basis of Spirit's guidance firmly fixed, it becomes clear that Hodge and Park perceived of the Bible as the wholly trustworthy messages of God and infallible rules of Christian faith and practice. Their understandings of biblical inspiration demonstrate both *what* has been presented in the Bible and *how* the word of God was given in the form of a special revelation to us.

In his lengthy discussions about the canon in *Dogmatic Theology* Park deals especially with the question how the Old and New Testaments were rightly accepted into the canon. To begin with, the criterion by which the Old Testament is accredited is the references to Jesus and his apostles.²⁷⁸ Many books of the Old Testament are exalted as the word of God because they are sanctioned by Jesus and his apostles. Alexander, in fact, also, highly regarded the quotations and references to Jesus and apostles as the objective criteria distinguishing canonical from non-canonical books.²⁷⁹ In agreement with Alexander, Park stated in his *Dogmatics*: "in regard to the matter of the canonicity of the OT books, Archibald Alexander, the first professor of Princeton Seminary, referred to the historical testimony of Christ

²⁷⁶ Charles Hodge, op. cit., p. 156.

²⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 157.

²⁷⁸ Hyung-ryong Park, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 268.

²⁷⁹ Archibald Alexander, *The Canon of the Old and New Testament Ascertained*, op. cit., p. 27.

and Apostles".²⁸⁰ With regard to the canonicity of the NT books, Park noted that Alexander had suggested acceptance of the view of those who lived close to the time of its publication, since they unanimously admitted biblical inspiration. Indeed, Alexander affirmed that the Scripture is of authority "from the moment of its publication; and its right to a place in the canon is not derived from the sanction of early church or council, but from the fact that it was written by inspiration".²⁸¹

Hodge held a similar view when he said: "... so far as the Old Testament is concerned, that those books, and those only, which Christ and his Apostles recognised as the written Word of God, are entitled to be regarded as canonical".²⁸² He supports this idea as follows: firstly, most books of the OT are quoted as the word of God, as being inspired by the Spirit, and secondly, Christ and his apostles refer to the sacred writings of the Jews, which they considered as divine. Such views of Alexander, Hodge and Park lead to a question whether the inspiration of the Scriptures is to be grounded upon the authority of Jesus and the Apostles. What about, then, the rest of the OT books which were not particularly used by Jesus and his Apostles? Some liberal theologians would even question whether Jesus' knowledge of God reached the maximal genuineness of God's revelation. If not, what could be said of the writings of the Apostles? If the Jewish canon of the OT includes all the books which now we recognise as constituting the OT writings, how are we to understand Josephus who claims that there are only twenty-two OT books, and Talmud which count twenty-four? Based on which criteria was the Jewish canon established?

Here at the margin of various questions, Alexander would respond that the references to Jesus and Apostles are only part of the objective criteria and not all. However, he would never overlook the authority of Christ and Apostles, through whom God had fulfilled the covenant of the Bible, and by whose witnesses He had transmitted saving knowledge to humanity. Brought up in the Jewish family,

²⁸⁰ Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. I*, op. cit., pp. 271-272.

²⁸¹ Archibald Alexander, op. cit., p. 99.

Alexander admits that Jesus was not ignorant of the OT Scriptures and that he did not go against the teachings of the OT while he was carrying out his earthly ministry. Alexander also argued that “the very fact of their [apostles’] writing is, therefore, a strong evidence that they believed themselves to be inspired”.²⁸³ In like manner Hodge argued that to refer to the Bible as having divine authority means that the whole volume is given by the inspiration of the Spirit. His assurance of the inspiration of the volume is based on the idea that Jesus and Apostles quote the ‘Scriptures’ or the ‘law and the prophets’, which is a proof of “their sanction to the divine authority of all the books which that volume contained”.²⁸⁴ Again, Hodge’s proof of biblical inspiration is largely dependent on the authority of Jesus and Apostles. His idea is based on the assumption that Jesus was the whole purpose of the Scriptures. The Scriptures, particularly prophetic literature, portray the advent of the Messiah (Lk. 24:27; Jn. 5:39), and his actual coming to earth (his life, death and resurrection) fulfilled the ‘law and prophets’ (Mt. 5:17). Therefore, the fact that Christ claimed himself as the Son of God, and that he comes to “give his life a ransom for many” (Mk. 10:45) prove that his words and teachings are sufficiently authoritative.

The various opinions concerning the numbers of the OT books (i.e. Josephus noted that there are 22 books in the Jewish canon, while Talmud enumerates them 24), are explained by Park as due to the result of employing a different method of calculation rather than the cause of different quantity of contents they have.²⁸⁵ Thus, in his understanding, it is not a question of either substantial difference in writings nor a different amount of contents, but of the subjective decision of dividing the books. The different ways of sub-dividing the Scriptures have no significance for Park, as long as they consent with one another in that every book in the Jewish canon is an inspired writing. In fact, the Talmud (it appears to be the Babylonian

²⁸² Charles Hodge, *Systematic Theology I*, op. cit., p. 152.

²⁸³ Archibald Alexander, op. cit., p. 148.

²⁸⁴ Charles Hodge, op. cit., p. 153.

²⁸⁵ Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. I*, op. cit., p. 268.

Talmud) enumerated the five books of the Torah along with the seven major Prophets and the twelve minor Prophets.²⁸⁶ Park was right in thinking that Talmud considered 24 books, since the rest of the Writings (or *Hagiographa*) were not counted by Talmud along with the Torah and Prophetic literature. It seems that the Babylonian Talmud had put *Hagiographa* in third category of books. However, as long as they are placed in the category of canon, what the Talmud records about the Jewish canon is exactly same as what Protestants perceive as thirty-nine today. Josephus, on the other hand, offered a similar arrangement of the OT to that of the Babylonian Talmud: Law, Prophets, and Writings. He placed the Pentateuch in the first category, all historical and prophetic literature in the second, and Writings in the third.²⁸⁷ Even without counting Writings, which, however, he still considers to be part of the OT canon, the Torah and the Prophetic and historical books add up to twenty-four books instead of Josephus' claim of twenty-two. However, according to John Thackeray, Josephus had united Judges with Ruth and Jeremiah with Lamentations. Due to this uniting, Judges and Jeremiah were categorised into the third category, *Hagiographa*. Again, as Park had mentioned, there is no difference of content in Josephus' reading of the Jewish canon from the Protestants, except their own ways to sub-divide under different categories.

With regard to the question how the Jewish canon was established, Park applied his understanding of biblical inspiration. More clearly, what made the OT books into the Jewish canon was the fact that the writers were inspired by the Spirit of God to ensure that they wrote the word of God, and the fact that the writers' authority and inspiration were recognised at the very moment they wrote the sacred Scriptures.²⁸⁸ Similar ideas were held by Hodge. He explained that inspiration was a

²⁸⁶ Seder Nezikin, *The Babylonian Talmud*, London: The Soncino Press, 1935, pp. 70-71. These Major and the Minor Prophets adds up to 19 (Joshua, Judges, I & II Samuels, I & II Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obidiah, Jonah, Mica, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi) when I and II Samuels and I and II Kings are each counted as one book.

²⁸⁷ John Thackeray, *Josephus: The Man and the History*, New York: Jewish Institute of Religion Press, 1929, p. 79.

²⁸⁸ Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. I*, op. cit., p. 268. On the other hand, Park found the legitimacy of the Jewish canon when Ezra, a Persian lawyer, brought a document (which Nehemiah called "The

necessary influence of the Holy Spirit on the minds of biblical writers, to convey inerrant communication of God's will and mind.²⁸⁹ In this sense, we can understand that God spoke through some people whom he chose to be His co-workers. In relation to this, Hodge further mentioned that the Scriptural idea of inspiration is described in the meaning of the word 'Prophet': "the sacred writers divide the Scriptures into the 'Law and the prophets'. As the law was written by Moses, and as Moses was the greatest of the prophets, it follows that all the Old Testament was written by prophets. If, therefore, we can determine the Scriptural idea of a prophet, we shall thereby determine the character of their writings and the authority due to them".²⁹⁰ What does it mean when Hodge claimed that in regard to the inspiration of the Scriptures one should gain his or her knowledge of the divine inspiration from the authority of prophets? Certainly he is thinking of a prophet as the spokesperson, who speaks on behalf of God. However, it is not, ultimately, the spokesperson, but God for whom the spokesperson acts, who is testifying and revealing the truth of His will.

In the discussion about the canonicity of the New Testament, Park proved himself to be a follower of the Old Princeton theology. In treating the canonicity of the NT, Park employed a similar principles to that of his predecessors. Firstly, he considered the apostleship of the book.²⁹¹ It depends greatly on the question whether the book was written by the apostles or not. If not by the apostles, then, the writer should be, at least, the one who retained intimate relationship with the apostles, to be qualified to the level of apostles. Park consulted Hodge for further explanation. He said that Hodge based his primary principle on the apostleship, who stated: "those books, and those only which can be proved to have been written by the Apostles, or to have received their sanction, are to be recognised as of divine

Book of the Law of Moses) to Jerusalem to establish its own Jewish law. Since then, the legal canon was presented to the people of Jerusalem and each household learnt the Torah and applied them into their religious and household life (See pp. 269-270).

²⁸⁹ Charles Hodge, *Systematic Theology I*, op. cit., p. 154.

²⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 159.

²⁹¹ Hyung-ryong Park, op. cit., p. 270.

authority. The reason of this rule is obvious. The Apostles were the duly authenticated messengers of Christ, of whom He said, 'He that heareth you, heareth me'.²⁹²

Secondly, Park pointed to the quality of the content of the book.²⁹³ The key to the question of this particular principle is whether the book constitutes of spiritual elements or not. It is strictly based on this limit that Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha were rejected from the canon. Alexander explained that they were not included in the canon because none of those books were either "quoted nor referred to by Christ and his apostles under the title of the Scriptures..."²⁹⁴ Those books which Christ and the Apostles referred to had directly and indirectly testified to spiritual things and not to worldly things, in terms of speaking from hierarchical dualism: spiritual things being 'good' (in line with God's covenant), while worldly things being 'evil' (fit only for eternal condemnation).

Thirdly, the universality of the book (i.e. whether Scripture is intended for the universal church or not) is equally considered important. No doubt the essential consideration on the point whether or not the book is commonly accepted by the universal church was prerequisite. This principle was primarily used to distinguish non-canonical books from the canonical writings. Alexander argued that not all letters or literature written by the biblical writers are necessarily inspired. The reason for his argument is described in the following statement: "there might be some letters written on special occasion to the churches planted by apostles, yet these were not designed for the perpetual instruction of the universal church".²⁹⁵ One might gather from this principle of their theological positions that Alexander and Park asserted that not all letters written by the inspired apostles are considered canonical. The apostles, who were chosen to be the organs of God, were not of course inspired always; they were only inspired during the time they were

²⁹² Ibid., p. 270. See also Charles Hodge, *Systematic Theology I*, op. cit., p. 153.

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ Archibald Alexander, *The Canon of the Old and New Testament*, op. cit., p. 41.

²⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 75.

composing the sacred books. In the mean time, they could have written some letters ('non-inspired') for the purpose of local churches rather than for the universal church. This was the basis on which Alexander and Park believed that the Church Fathers distinguished inspired letters from non-inspired ones.

Finally, the last and the most important principle Park claims is divine inspiration.²⁹⁶ It is needless to say how fervently Princeton theologians regarded inspiration as the ultimate criterion for the canonicity and the inerrancy of the Bible. They grasped inspiration as the fundamental principle upon which the competency of the other three principles were approved. The apostleship of the Bible was obviously accompanied by divine inspiration, exactly as apostles themselves claimed the divine authority and inspiration of their writings (I Cor. 2:10-13). For this reason, Hodge and Park refer to the Westminster Confession, which reads as follows, as their faith and intrinsic significance for the whole structure of their theological system: "Under the name of Holy Scripture, or the Word of God written, are now contained all the books of the Old and New Testament, which are these: All which are given by inspiration of God, to be the rule of faith and life".²⁹⁷

Another aspect of Park's theology which follows the tradition of Old Princeton theology is found in his treatise "The Holy Trinity". Within the total structure of his theology Park discussed the doctrine of the Trinity, speaking of its unity and its different role. Park agrees with Hodge in perceiving the doctrine of the Trinity as the sole true revelation of Christianity, which distinguishes itself from other religions.²⁹⁸ It is their point of view that no philosophical statement of Pantheistic theory nor the Jewish understanding of monotheistic assertions have reached the concept of the Triune God.²⁹⁹ The orientation of their theology towards the biblical

²⁹⁶ Hyung-ryong Park, op. cit., p. 270.

²⁹⁷ Charles Hodge, *Systematic Theology I*, op. cit., p. 153. See also Hyung-ryong Park, op. cit., p. 271.

²⁹⁸ Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. II*, op. cit., p. 185. See also Charles Hodge, *Systematic Theology I*, op. cit., p. 442.

²⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 186. See also Hodge, op. cit., p. 442. Neither Hodge nor Park thinks that Hindu gods (such as Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva) and Buddhist and Platonic attempts to personify virtue,

trine God is clearly in regard to the true attributes of God and the salvation of the world, where speculative minds seem to be challenged: "It is a great mistake to regard that doctrine [the doctrine of Trinity] as a mere speculative or abstract truth, concerning the constitution of the Godhead... On the contrary, it underlies the whole plan of salvation, and determines the character of the religion (in the subjective sense of that word) of all true Christians".³⁰⁰ Since the whole purpose of the gospel lies on the idea that everyone should recognise who God is and what His will for humanity is, the doctrine of the Trinity is not only essential but central to the whole framework of theology. When each person in the Godhead is sufficiently honored with each of their divine essences, Park said, creation, providence and redemption are wholly understood as the divine work of the Father, Christ, and the Holy Spirit.³⁰¹ The whole picture of the God-centred theology is, thus, developed not in the sense that God is one person, but three persons with the same essence. Park's understanding of three persons in the Godhead is reflected in Hodge's statement: "According to the Scripture, the Father created the world, the Son created the world, and the Spirit created the world... These facts are expressed by saying that the persons of the Trinity concur in all acts *ad extra*".³⁰²

As far as the substance of the Being is concerned, Park said that the three distinct persons are absolutely the same, and thus, possess the same attributes. They are equal in terms of rank. None of these three persons is subordinate to the others in essence.³⁰³ Similarly, Hodge perceived three distinct persons (the Father, Son, Holy Spirit), and yet equally respected for same attributes, power and glory.³⁰⁴ Being aware of Arians, Socinians and Unitarians who denied that Christ was one person who had two natures, the divine substance being that of the Father (ὁμοούσιος τῷ πατρί) and the human substance the same as ours (ὁμοούσιος

intellect, and will as Trinitarian formulas, have any analogy with the Scriptural doctrine of the Trinity. They are non-communicable and not worthy to be worshipped.

³⁰⁰ Charles Hodge, *Vol. I*, op. cit., p. 442. See also Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. II*, op. cit., p. 186.

³⁰¹ Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. II*, p. 189.

³⁰² Charles Hodge, *Vol. I*, op. cit., p. 445.

³⁰³ Hyung-ryong Park, op. cit., p. 206.

ἡμῶν), both Hodge and Park referred to the Nicene Creed as the orthodox faith of Christianity.³⁰⁵ Park believed that there is no doubt that the second person of the Trinity shares the same substance and attributes with the first person because the Son and the Father are coeternal without dispersion or division of the whole divine substance.³⁰⁶ By examining and rejecting Arian's understanding that the Son owes his existence to the will of the Father and that he was not God of himself because he was created by God the Father (hence they believed that the Father, Son, and Spirit were ὁμοιούσιοι rather than ὁμοούσιοι), Hodge reconfirmed that the Greek term οὐσία, to which corresponds the Latin word *substantia*, and the English 'substance', is common to the three persons of the Trinity. Noticing the Nicene Council's acceptance of the term ὁμοούσιος in the sense of 'numerical identity' rather than 'specific sameness' (Tritheism—as if there are three different individual Gods), Hodge reaffirmed that "the same numerical, infinite, indivisible essence subsists in the three persons of the Trinity".³⁰⁷ Interestingly, Hodge and Park's understandings of the doctrine of Trinity are explicitly demonstrated in Warfield's discussion of the same subject. Vigorously rejecting the view of Callistus, who upheld the hierarchical concept of the Triune God (placing the Father on top of the Son), Warfield pointed out it was a mistake for Callistus to view that the Son was merely a human until the Spirit of Father 'united' with him on the cross.³⁰⁸ If, as Callistus claimed, Christ is the Son of God and One with God only in the sense that the Father dwells in Christ's flesh, human Jesus and God-incarnated Christ are presumably two different individuals with two different functions. Perhaps the difficulty of accepting Callistus's view can be imagined more keenly if one refers to the view of Old Princetonians, who reject his view as hostility against the Scriptural concept of the divine Messiah, the Son of God, and Saviour, which has been a

³⁰⁴ Charles Hodge, *op. cit.*, p. 444.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 453-454. See also Park, *Vol. II*, pp. 225-226.

³⁰⁶ Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. II*, pp. 222-223.

³⁰⁷ Charles Hodge, *Vol. I*, pp. 455, 460.

³⁰⁸ Benjamin B. Warfield, *Studies in Tertullian and Augustine*, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

mainstream understanding of orthodox Christians. They understand that the same divine essence with all its infinite perfection is common to the three persons. This is to say that none of the persons is superior to the other, because, not part of, but the whole of divine essence and attributes are equally ascribed to the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.³⁰⁹ If any of these persons is lacking in whole divine essence, then the person is disqualified to be a God.

How are we supposed to understand, then, the order of the three persons in the perspective of the ontological being of the Trinity? Both Hodge and Park believed that the order of the three persons is as listed as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. This point of view is not worked out in terms of hierarchy, by which means one person is superior to the others in the Trinity, but in the sense that each person is derived from the others. The following quotation by Hodge explains clearly his system, the content of which is also exhibited in Park's treatise: "the subordination [the principle of subordination of one person to the other] intended is only that which concerns the mode of subsistence and operation, implied in the Scriptural facts that the Son is of the Father, and the Spirit is of the Father and the Son, and that the Father operates through the Son, and the Father and the Son through the Spirit".³¹⁰

In speaking of Logos, Park conceded that the procession of the Logos is "a voluntary act on the part of God" and the Logos itself is "a function of the eternal God Himself, never escaping from the control of His will".³¹¹ As Warfield criticised Gnostics for their misunderstanding of the Logos as the 'protrusion of God', Park also rejected the idea of viewing Christ as one of a series of emanations or aeons. The primary reason he rejected Gnosticism as heresy is due to its misplacing of Christ as a dependent being. Furthermore, the greatest mistake of Gnosticism consisted in denying Christ's humanity. Thus, apart from philosophical speculation of the Logos, Park perceived the Logos as the Son, Jesus Christ, who had already

³⁰⁹ Hyung-ryong Park, op. cit., p. 207.

³¹⁰ Charles Hodge, op. cit., p. 461. See also Hyung-ryong Park, op. cit., p. 204. Both Hodge and Park adhered to western teaching on the *filioque* clause.

³¹¹ Benjamin B. Warfield, op. cit., p. 20. See also Hyung-ryong Park, op. cit., p. 219.

been existed as God before the creation.³¹² Park denied any idea which reduces the Son to the category of creatures, as if he was fashioned for the special occasion of earthly ministry. Rather, Park suggested the term 'send' indicates the common will of the three persons in taking action for incarnation. Another negative aspect of philosophical speculations on the Logos theory pointed out by Park is that it leaves no room for discussion of the Holy Spirit. "The Spirit of God and the Spirit of Son are the phrases used to designate the Third person of the Godhead".³¹³ Unless one understands that the Holy Spirit is a being with a personality (for example, Socinians believed the Holy Spirit was virtue or energy), one will be unable to fathom the role of the Holy Spirit in the Logos. 'The Spirit of God', said Hodge and later Park, implies that the Holy Spirit is God (I Cor. 2:11), proceeds from the Father and the Son, who operates over the creation with his divine essence.³¹⁴

Thus far, we have briefly sketched and examined what particular theological methods and standpoints Park had become acquainted with through Princeton theologians, especially Alexander, Hodge and Warfield. The importance of Park's embracing of their theological notions lies in the fact that his strong fundamentalist features were greatly shaped by and founded upon the theological tradition of Old Princeton School. We have already noticed that Park's theology is essentially dogmatism-based and history-based, rather than pragmatics-based or context-based. Whilst taking this concept into account, Park's idea of Christianity is more closely bound by its nature to a single time frame and cultural background and shows that he attempted to define Christianity as a certain limited doctrines determined and emphasised by the Princeton theologians.

2.1.2.4. Old Princeton Theologians' Doctrine of Biblical Inerrancy

In this section, I give attention to the controversial issues regarding Princeton theologians and their peculiar interpretation of Calvin in regard to biblical authority.

³¹² Hyung-ryong Park, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

³¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

A number of scholars (such as James Barr, William J. Abraham and Theodore P. Letis) have queried whether the Princeton theologians' principle of biblical inerrancy resulted from a correct understanding of Calvin. To shed light on this debate, I will examine first how Princeton came to see biblical inerrancy as part of Calvin's view of the Bible and why others raise objections to this. This study is essential insofar that the doctrine of biblical inerrancy is not a concept followed by Calvin (nor is it part of orthodox Christianity) and both American and Korean fundamentalism were largely influenced by this doctrine. Towards the end of this section, I introduce a similar theological debate which occurred in Korea. The problem with Korean fundamentalism is that it believes the doctrine of inerrancy to be Calvin's idea and hence condemns any view that rejects this. Hence, this section aims to show to what extent Korean fundamentalism may have been influenced by Old Princeton's distorted 'Calvinism', and how this has weakened ecumenical awareness in the Korean church. This section is partly based on Don Browning's third sub-movement (systematic theology) insofar as it examines both Old Princeton and Korean fundamentalism, which become the 'normative Christian texts' to which Browning refers, in the light of Calvinist tradition.

In these discussions, I refer to Marsden's, Barr's and Harris's understandings of this issue. They all acknowledge that the biblical inerrancy doctrine was formulated by Old Princeton theologians. Their studies of the controversy over this doctrine are relevant to this study, since I consider contemporary Korean fundamentalism's position on this doctrine. Korean fundamentalists believe that this doctrine is not new. They use similar arguments to those of American evangelicals Randall H. Balmer and J. D. Woodbridge who have stated such a doctrine may have existed throughout Christian history. For instance, Aaron Park and Yong-kyu Park believe that the biblical inerrancy doctrine is part of the Reformed view of the Bible.³¹⁵

³¹⁴ Charle Hodge, op. cit., p. 478. See also Hyung-ryong Park, op. cit., p. 229.

³¹⁵ Aaron Park, *Conservative Trends in Contemporary Theology*, Seoul: Christian Literature Crusade, 1993, p. 272-273. Yong-kyu Park, *A History of Presbyterian Theological Thought in Korea*, Chongshin Pub. Co., 1992, pp. 31-36, 336.

Aaron Park believes that the Korean Presbyterian church inherited the Reformed faith from the early American missionaries who brought the doctrine of biblical inerrancy and other fundamental doctrines into Korea. Yong-kyu Park maintains that Sandeen's and Marsden's argument (that this doctrine is based on Common Sense Philosophy) has added to the misunderstanding that it was formulated by Old Princeton scholars. By reference to Marsden's, Harris's and Calvin's works, I will show that this doctrine is not part of genuine Calvinism but is in fact a modification of Calvinism.

One of the strongest influences that the Old Princeton theologians had upon the nineteenth and twentieth-centuries' evangelicalism was 'the authority of Scripture by inspiration'. Being influenced by Common Sense Philosophy, which provided the significant philosophical notions which created the fundamentalist mentality, Old Princeton viewed the Bible as inspired and, hence, error-free.³¹⁶ There has been, however, controversy pertaining to Princeton theology, not least debate regarding the extent to which B. B. Warfield and other Princeton theologians were, in fact, modifying the Calvinist tradition.

As has been discussed earlier, Princeton theologians regarded reason as an important factor in knowing God. For example, when Charles Hodge stated, in his *Systematic Theology*, that knowledge of God is innate, he perceived that the human sense of moral truth is assumed in all reasoning.³¹⁷ This does not, however, mean that he celebrated reason over faith. There was a point when Hodge rejected rationalism because it "assumes that the human intelligence is the measure of all truth".³¹⁸ It was only the 'misuse of reason' that Princeton theologians were cautious of. They thought that proper use of reason could help avoid subjectivism. Another statement by Hodge convinces us that he considered the exercise of faith as

³¹⁶ It should be noted that Charles Hodge's understanding of biblical infallibility differed from B. B. Warfield's in that Hodge based his biblical inerrancy on the doctrine of biblical inspiration, whereas Warfield argued that biblical inspiration should be proved by presenting evidence (Harriet Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 138).

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

most important: "Unless a man is willing to believe the incomprehensible, he can believe nothing".³¹⁹ Reason, to Hodge, is therefore an instrument through which humans come to acknowledge God, but is never sufficient by itself: it needs faith. The fact that Princeton theologians gave significant attention to religious experience made them less rationalist. Hodge claimed that one's religious experience of inward teachings of the Spirit is consistent with the admission of intuitive truth.³²⁰ Likewise, Warfield's statement that the Holy Spirit provides believers with "just a new ability of the heart to respond to the grounds of faith, sufficient in themselves, already present to the understanding", and Machen's understanding that "Christian experience is rightly used when it confirms the documentary evidence" show that religious experience is inevitable in revelation. However, this should never give the impression that Princeton theologians ignored reason because "all forms of convictions must rest on evidence as their ground, and it is not faith but reason which investigates the nature and validity of this ground".³²¹

It is noteworthy that such an evidence-based conception of faith became the basis for the doctrine of inerrancy. Hodge and Warfield both posited that inerrancy of Scripture implies that all Scriptures are error-free because they are inspired. Hodge's understanding of Scripture as inerrant is indebted to the theory of verbal inspiration of Francis Turretin of Geneva, the seventeenth-century champion of Calvinist orthodoxy.³²² Such an idea was further promoted by the article "inspiration" contributed to *The Presbyterian Review II* (April, 1881) by A. A. Hodge and Warfield. In this article, they stated that "the Scriptures not only contain, but ARE THE WORD OF GOD, and hence that all their elements and all their affirmations are absolutely errorless, and binding the faith and obedience of men".³²³ Obviously, Hodge and Warfield believed that every word in the Bible was inspired and hence

³¹⁹ Ibid.

³²⁰ Ibid., p. 134.

³²¹ Ibid., p. 135.

³²² Ibid., p. 137.

³²³ George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1980, p. 113.

the result was 'the truth to fact of every statement in the Scripture'. Since the formal doctrine of inerrancy was peculiar to Princeton, there has been debate among later scholars as whether Calvin did or did not actually believed that the Bible is inerrant. Discussing some scholars who favoured the doctrine and some who did not helps to show what sort of difficulty in Calvin makes these opposite opinions possible. Moreover, this will show which of these groups that Korean fundamentalism followed. Among the debaters, on the one side are William J. Abraham (1981) and Theodore P. Letis (1991) who argue that Warfield's doctrine of inerrancy contained much innovation, while on the other side are Randall H. Balmer (1983) and J. D. Woodbridge (1983) who insist that 'the concept of complete biblical infallibility, what we today call biblical inerrancy, was no new creation of the late nineteenth century'.³²⁴ The latter scholars' assertions depend largely upon the works of 16th-century Puritan writers and 19th-century orthodox theologies. Some of the articles written by evangelicals in the volume *Inerrancy and the Church* (edited by John Hannah in 1984) attribute the notion of inerrancy to Wesleyans, Baptists, Calvin, and the Westminster Confession.

More opinions on this subject have been by Harriet Harris (1998), James Barr (1977), Jack Rogers (1977), Donald McKim (1985), John Gerstner (1974) and James Packer (1984). Harris comments that the doctrine of inerrancy "did contain elements from earlier traditions, but the intellectual climate in the late 19th century encouraged Warfield to seek a higher standard of scientific accuracy than was demanded by previous apologists of an error-free Bible".³²⁵ She considers the possibility that the theology of earlier traditions might have influenced the development of inerrancy. However, she is convinced that Warfield's doctrine of biblical inerrancy was obviously a new approach which was based on his evidence-based conception of faith. Following Sandeen, Barr argues that Princeton theology, especially Hodge's understanding of biblical inspiration as the infallibility and

³²⁴ Harriet Harris, op. cit., p. 135.

³²⁵ Ibid.

divine authority of the Scriptures, is at variance with the Westminster Confession.³²⁶ He further states that Hodge's presupposed concept of biblical inerrancy on the basis that the Scriptures are the word of God and that they are given by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, is not consistent with the major concern of the Westminster Confession which finds divine authority of the Scriptures from "the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness by and with the Word in our hearts".³²⁷ Barr is concerned that the Westminster Confession does not support the doctrine of inerrancy. He emphasises that the Confession finds biblical authority from the Holy Spirit, not biblical inerrancy. Two other theologians who disagree with the doctrine of biblical inerrancy are Jack Rogers and Donald McKim. With their Dutch Reformed theological background, Rogers and McKim challenge the rationalistic assumptions of Princeton theology.³²⁸ They consider that the Bible is infallible only in regard to Christian faith and conduct but not in regard to scientific, geographical, and historical statements.³²⁹ Evangelicals such as J. Woodbridge, J. Gerstner and J. Packer support Princeton's idea of biblical inerrancy, giving more attention to elements in Calvin and the Westminster Confession than to Princeton's consideration of the Holy Spirit's role in that matter.

As has been discussed so far, the division of opinions among theologians and historians on the doctrine of inerrancy is intense. Taking all their views in consideration, I conclude that some scholars argue that biblical inerrancy is essential to the authority of Scripture, while others are concerned with the Bible being authoritative, not because it is inerrant but because it is granted by God as His revelation to humanity. What is clear at this stage is that the Princetonian, particularly Warfield, had consulted Calvin's work but that biblical inerrancy sprang out from his own study, in accordance with his Common Sense Philosophy

³²⁶ James Barr, *Fundamentalism*, London: SCM Press, 1977, p. 262. See also Ernest Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism 1800-1930*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970, p. 128.

³²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

³²⁸ Harriet Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

and evidence-based conception of faith. Warfield's analysis of Calvin and apologetics of biblical inerrancy, based on Calvin's work, obviously show the distinction between his approach to biblical inspiration/inerrancy and that of other earlier traditions. Referring to his own statement can be helpful.

Being so confident that Calvin implied biblical inerrancy in his works, Warfield noted: "nothing is more certain than that Calvin held both to 'verbal inspiration' and to 'the inerrancy of Scripture', however he may have conceived the action of God which secured these things".³³⁰ While interpreting Calvin's expository on Scripture being the divine word of God, Warfield insisted that Calvin's use of the term 'dictation' is no more than a figurative expression. He argued that Calvin did not have in his mind that the mode of inspiration was dictation, but that the result of inspiration were as if dictation had occurred. Hence, on the premise that it was a figurative expression, Warfield asserted that Calvin understood that "the effect of inspiration was the production of a pure word of God, free from all admixture of human error".³³¹

Arguably, Calvin establishes biblical authority partly upon the Scriptures being divinely dictated, and partly upon the testimony of the Holy Spirit working through them. Giving rather more emphasis to divine dictation, Warfield defended the inerrancy of the Bible and Georgia Harkness, an American liberal, later criticised Calvin as "a thoroughgoing fundamentalist".³³² Some Barthian theologians nowadays accept that Calvin was either an advocate of a doctrine of verbal inspiration or was guilty of biblical literalism.³³³ Here we are confronted with crucial problems about how to interpret Calvin. It could be either Calvin's indirect

³²⁹ Jack Rogers and Donald McKim, *The Authority and Interpretation of the Bible*, New York: Harper & Row, 1979, pp. 457-461.

³³⁰ Benjamin B. Warfield, *Calvin and Calvinism*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1931, p. 61.

³³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

³³² Georgia Harkness, *John Calvin, the Man and His Ethics*, New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1931, p. 66.

³³³ John H. Leith, *John Calvin's Doctrine of the Christian Life*, Kentucky: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1989, p. 57.

approach to the Scriptures as the word of God (for example, his understanding of both 'dictation' and 'the witness of the Holy Spirit) or his emphasis on the meaning rather than the words of the Bible that causes controversy among the scholars. As to the doctrine of inerrancy or inspiration, Calvin nowhere specifically elaborates them except that he identified the writings with the oracles of God.³³⁴ In the Geneva Catechism of 1545, as to the question concerning where the word of God can be found, Calvin answered that the word of God can be found in the Holy Scriptures, which contains it.³³⁵ Leith points out that Calvin's exposition of biblical material shows that he was more concerned with meaning than with the words themselves. For example, when Calvin comments on Matthew 27:9 he notes that this writer uses Jeremiah where he should have put the name Zechariah. In fact, Calvin had no idea how it happened and wrote "I do not trouble myself to inquire".³³⁶ Furthermore, his claim to acknowledge that "the evangelists as we have seen are not careful to mark every hour with exactness" while studying on Matthew 27:51, and his statements in commentary on Romans which are apparently 'contrary to any theory of literal dictation', challenge Princeton's idea of biblical inerrancy. The following paragraph by Calvin greatly adds to the contrast between Princeton's understanding of Scripture as scientific and Calvin's warning against using the Bible as a science book:

Moses makes two great luminaries, but astronomers prove by conclusive reasons that the star of saturn, which on account of its great distance appears least of all, is greater than the moon. Here lies the difference; Moses wrote in a popular style things which, without instruction, all ordinary persons endued with common sense are able to understand; but astronomers investigate with great labor whatever the sagacity of the human mind can comprehend. Nevertheless, this study is not to be reprobated, nor this science to be condemned, because some fanatic persons are wont boldly to reject whatever is unknown to them. For astronomy is not only pleasant, but also very helpful to be known; it cannot be denied that this art unfolds the admirable wisdom of God.³³⁷

³³⁴ John Calvin, *Institutes*, IV, 8, 9.

³³⁵ John H. Leith, op. cit., p. 58.

³³⁶ Ibid., p. 59.

³³⁷ Ibid., pp. 59-60. See also John Calvin, *Corpus Reformatorum* 23:22; 31:806; 45:82; 49:429.

Although I am not a scholar of Calvin, it is clear, at least from this paragraph, that Calvin admitted the importance of scientific work in elaborating the biblical writers' documents. This does not imply, however, that Calvin denied the Bible as the word of God. The discrepancies of which Calvin was aware appear to be incidental and limited to aspects of history, chronology, and style. Leith argues that, although Calvin did not interpret difficult passages as a result of their lack of inspiration, Warfield "seems to go too far in his assertions that Calvin admitted no errors in the Scriptures".³³⁸ At the same time, Leith criticises Peter Barth and others of his school for their lack of understanding that "in actual practice Calvin used the Bible as though it were verbally inspired". Leith's points actually help us to consider several possible ways to examine Calvin. It is not always the case that later interpreters can correctly understand what Calvin intended to say about Scripture. What can create barriers to Calvin's original meaning is when interpreters bring their own theological and philosophical presuppositions to bear on his work.

Significantly, a similar theological controversy over the doctrine of biblical inspiration and inerrancy took place among Korean scholars in the early twentieth century. As has been discussed earlier in this thesis, there has been a denominational split concerning views of the Bible. The controversies between conservatives and liberals were exemplified in the 1950s and 1960s by a number of essays and articles which directly challenged the existing doctrine of biblical inerrancy. Being influenced both by Hyung-ryong Park and its Princeton-graduate missionary professors, the Korean Presbyterian Church held a high view of the Bible, based on ideas of inspiration and inerrancy. Liberal challengers of this doctrine included Chang-whan Park, Chang-sik Lee, and Hyun-sul Hong, the followers of Ja-jun Kim.³³⁹ In particular, Kyung-yeon Chun's articles, such as "Understanding of Revelation and Hermeneutics", "The Way to Understand Scripture", "The Holy Spirit and the Interpretation of Scripture" and "Biblical

³³⁸ Ibid., p. 60.

Interpretation and Theology", provoked fundamentalist Christians who believed in the inspiration/inerrancy of the Scriptures. A conservative theologian, Young-kyu Park, criticises a church historian, Jae-young Ju, for his understanding of Calvin as one who had seen the Bible as divinely inspired but had never spelled out verbal inspiration and furthermore had admitted that the Bible contained errors.³⁴⁰ To Young-kyu Park, this is an absurd misinterpretation of Calvin. He is dismayed to hear that Ju actually said that Calvin's view of the Bible should not be interpreted in the light of the Westminster Confession and of its theory of inspiration because, according to Ju, the Confession was the by-product of hyper-Calvinists rather than of Calvin himself.³⁴¹ As was the case for Old Princeton, Korean fundamentalists to this day unanimously believe that the idea of biblical inspiration/inerrancy is completely consistent with Calvin, and they respect this as the greatest heritage they have received from Princeton through the first missionary professors and Hyung-ryong Park. The next section will discuss hostility against the liberalism that Hyung-ryong Park inherited from his direct mentor, Gresham Machen.

2.1.2.5. The Influence of Gresham Machen's Theological Principles on Hyung-ryong Park

As has been discussed previously, the greatest impact of modernism upon religious thought in America during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was its threat to traditional Christian doctrines and morality. Various attempts by a number of Christian theologians to assimilate the modernist assertions of scientific knowledge into theology affected many leaders of Presbyterian church and some members of Princeton Theological Seminary.

³³⁹ Young-kyu Park, *A History of Presbyterian Theological Thought in Korea*, Chongshin Pub. Co., 1992, p. 36.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

³⁴¹ Whereas Barr argued that the Westminster Confession took a spiritual rather than literalist approach, Ju argued that the Confession itself is not to be credited, because it was designed by hyper-Calvinist.

After the death of Benjamin Warfield in 1921, Gresham Machen (1881-1937), Professor of New Testament in Princeton Theological Seminary, acted as the spokesperson for the fundamentalist-conservative coalition in the 1920s.³⁴² It was through his personal encounter with Machen at Princeton Seminary that Park learnt about both the theoretical and the practical aspects of Machen's theological principles, especially in the area of fundamental Christian doctrines. This is demonstrated by the similarities of the fundamentalist-modernist controversy, as argued in Machen's *Christianity and Liberalism*, with Park's advocacy of Reformed theology as described in *A Complete Works of Dr. Hyung-ryong Park Vol. VIII*.

The major concern of this section is to discover which of Machen's particular theological aspects affected Park's shaping of his fundamentalist theology among the Korean Presbyterian churches, and what characteristics of Machen and Park's understandings of Christianity distinguished them from their newly emerging liberal opponents. As this research goes on, we need to question what was the purpose and nature of the fundamentalist militant reaction against liberalism in North America, and whether this reaction was successful and whether it expressed mutual understanding with the rest of Christian world.

In his book *Christianity and Liberalism*, Machen chiefly dealt with several theological elements that are important to Christianity: doctrines, God and man, the Bible, Christ, Salvation, and the Church. These elements are closely related to the five essential fundamental doctrines proposed by the General Assembly of Presbyterian Church in 1910. Taking into consideration the period in which he wrote, we can assume that Machen's book was aimed at reaffirming the value of Reformed theological hermeneutics against liberalism's encroachment upon fundamental Christian doctrines. I shall discuss chiefly Machen's understanding of doctrines and God and man in comparison to Park's view of the same subjects. This is to avoid as much as possible reiterating the discussions which occur while

³⁴² George M. Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism*, op. cit., p. 58.

comparing Park's 'five-point doctrine' with the *The Fundamentals*, which I will discuss in the subsequent chapters.

When Machen stated that Christianity is 'the great redemptive religion', he had in mind that the core of Christianity is not absolutely what relativists or pluralists claim it to be. Since Machen believed that Christianity entirely lies in God's salvation work through Christ, modern scientific and sociological approaches to the Bible are all viewed as harmful factors to the uniqueness of Christianity. Machen's particular attempt to label the newly emerging liberalism or modernism as the 'non-redemptive religion' appeared to be derived from his own understanding of its roots in 'naturalism', which he defines, from a non-philosophical standpoint, as "the denial of any entrance of the creative power of God".³⁴³

Machen's criticism of modern liberalism was based on two arguments: 1) "on the ground that it is un-Christian" (presumably he is referring to the naturalistic character of modern science and Christianity) and 2) "on the ground that it is unscientific".³⁴⁴ According to his criticism, what makes science genuine is its discovery of facts which are useful in instituting the values Christianity upholds. In this respect, scientific research concerning the questions 'how', 'when' and 'where' has been helpful in understanding the Scriptures, which are primarily written in the perspective of 'who', 'what', and 'why'. On the other hand, the rise of conflict between science and Christianity in the time of Machen was not to be overlooked. This seems to be the reason why Machen made a distinction between 'old' and 'modern' (or 'pseudo') science. By modern science, he meant evolutionism which had recently been developed and, which was an example of the 'scientific presumption' which stemmed from atheistic origins. "Scientific investigation", Machen stated, "has certainly accomplished much; it has in many respects produced a new world. The modern world represents in some respects an enormous

³⁴³ J. Gresham Machen, *Christianity and Liberalism*, London: Victory Press, 1923, p. 2.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

improvement over the world in which our ancestors lived; but in other respects it exhibits a lamentable decline".³⁴⁵

Although Machen acknowledged the positive effects of modern science upon man's life conditions, he warns that worse infliction came upon the soul from the same cause. The gist of his argument is that the reconciliation of theology with modern science has turned man away from the religious values which were solely given by God. It is said that modern liberalism has gone so far beyond its limits as to create its own God or even entirely deny the existence of God. For Machen, therefore, modern liberalism is essentially discordant with a 'traditional' understanding of Christianity, a deviance from the orthodox, a new religion formed by a secular world, and 'the revolt against the fundamentals of the Christian faith'.³⁴⁶

Machen pointed out the absurdity of liberalism's concept of Christianity as a 'life' rather than a 'doctrine.' Machen believed that to say 'Christianity is a life' was to make a historical assertion rather than to state an ideal, since Christianity was a historical phenomenon.³⁴⁷ Machen's essential definition of Christianity was explored from his reflection of the inception of Christianity. Centring around Jesus' life and death, the Christian community was built up in Jerusalem first and the Gentile world later. As far as Christianity is supposed to be deeply concerned with the Person Jesus Christ and his teachings and redeeming work, Machen never agreed with modern liberalism. He regarded the apostles' epistles as historical evidence of the foundations of Christianity. On this ground, he explained that the early Christian movement was not simply a way of life in the modern liberal sense of 'feelings and a program of work'. On the contrary, he believed that Christianity was a way of life founded upon written accounts of facts, i.e. doctrines.³⁴⁸ He could be sure of this because, in Paul's case, doctrine was always the basis of his life. The

³⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 9-10.

³⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 18.

³⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 20.

³⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 21.

reason that Machen held up Paul as a good example in explaining the importance of doctrine is because Paul applied doctrine to every circumstance. The mode of missionary work which dominated and defined Paul's character was 'tolerance.' However, Machen explained that Paul's tolerance was contextual in that it showed variations in mood, depending on the audience and situation. For instance, when Paul was addressing the Galatians, his tone of voice was different from when he addressed the Romans in that he warned the Galatians to guard vigorously against false gospels. According to Machen, Paul showed tolerance to the Romans because what was being taught by rival teachers in Rome was relevant to Christianity. However, he was intolerant in his letter to the Galatians, due to the preaching of the gospel there, which deviated from the gospel preached by himself and other apostles.

One might gather from Machen's statement that Christianity should never depart from its own historical background and original meaning. Machen claimed that the content of Paul's messages never deviated from the true light of God's revelation, but that he employed various methods of approach in different circumstances. What Machen did expect of Christians, was that they should follow the traditional teachings of the primitive church. This begs the question: what did Machen mean by 'the traditional teachings of the primitive church?' Once again, his attitude toward liberalism's understanding of the universal fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man was purely negative. On the contrary, he emphasised the fact that the primitive churches were wholly founded upon the *didache* (the teachings of the disciples rested upon Christ's death for the world's sin). In the moment that God became incarnated into human flesh, Christian doctrine came into existence. Hence, when the historical fact 'Christ died' is amplified into the complete phrase 'Christ died for our sins', the whole notion of Christian doctrine is developed.³⁴⁹ Machen's portrayal of Christ's substitutionary atonement for sinners as the supreme and central idea of Christianity obviously opposed the liberal's

³⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 27.

understanding of the historical Jesus. To him, Christian doctrines were neither confined to mere ethical teachings by Christ nor to the admirable character of human Jesus. What made Jesus different from other sages of the world, such as Confucius, was Christ's Messiahship. As far as the concept of Jesus' Messiahship is understood in connection with his anointment as the Saviour of the world, Machen considered the liberal's denial of the messianic consciousness of Jesus to be radically false when Machen stressed that Christianity is founded upon Jesus being the Messiah, whose title and role were not only claimed and demonstrated by himself but also by his disciples' witness of his death and resurrection, Machen bore in mind his argument concerning the relation of salvation to Jesus Christ who fulfills it.

Machen was not put out by the liberal saying that the Sermon on the Mount is the 'Golden Rule' in which man finds all the solutions to his social problems. However, when liberalism goes so far as to say that the Sermon on the Mount has virtually nothing to do with theology, (that is, its intimate relationship with other important aspects of Jesus, such as miracles, atonement, or heaven or hell), Machen states it has radically misinterpreted the whole purpose of Christianity. Machen seems to believe that even the Sermon on the Mount itself is deeply related to Christ, through whose intermediacy ethical teachings are applied in man's life. Scripture itself never stands alone, especially without giving much attention to the subject of the discourse. Machen points out that liberalism's fondness for this particular text is based on the fact that they misunderstand Christianity as a statement of the most desirable ethical behaviour of humans to each other, and hence, the Kingdom of God is attained by man's observation of ethical guidelines. He expressly refuses to accept this and says that "a stupendous theology, with Jesus' own Person at the centre of it, is the presupposition of the whole teaching".³⁵⁰

The reason for insisting on the balance between *what Jesus did* or *who he was* and *what he taught* in the interpretation of Christianity and the profession of the

³⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 37.

primitive church doctrines seems to be that all theological thinking must be construed in the light of the person Jesus Christ. The ethic of the discourse as 'Do unto others as you would have others do unto you' is insignificant itself without having Christ as the ultimate source of the solutions to the problems. Machen declares man is incapable of obtaining salvation. His argument against modern liberalism is that, if the requirements for the entrance into the Kingdom of God are strictly obeying Jesus' ethical principles, then no one would be sufficiently qualified. Thus, Machen states, "The Sermon on the Mount, rightly interpreted, then, makes man a seeker after some divine means of salvation by which entrance into the Kingdom can be obtained".³⁵¹ The way that Jesus offers the invitation "come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest" is obviously distinctive in character. It is different from a philosopher inviting people to his school, whose aim is to teach about and speculate upon the physical world. In Jesus' invitation, Machen claims, man is promised forgiveness. Since neither justification nor sanctification is achieved by man's ethical behaviour, it is by Jesus only that man's fundamental problem is solved.

This explanation of the traditional concept of Christianity is supported by the New Testament. The records about Jesus' ministry including miracles, healing, and proclaiming of the gospel show that he is "worthy of trust and that he is willing to have us trust him".³⁵² Having said this, Machen asserted that one needs to believe and commit to the words of Christ in order to build a trusting relationship between Christ and himself. To illustrate this intimate relationship, Machen considered the importance of a theology of the cross described in the eighth chapter of Romans. The point here is that no one could possibly put his trust in Christ unless he first admits the message of Christ's death and resurrection. In other words, liberalism's attempt to replace the 'factual' basis (that which has happened) of Christianity with 'aspiration' brings not only damage to the original concept of Christianity, but also

³⁵¹ Ibid., p. 38.

³⁵² Ibid., p. 43.

degrades Christianity into a form of religion without its central figure, Jesus Christ. The following statement by Machen summarises his strong conviction and wish to retain Christian doctrines in the face of liberalism's misunderstanding of Christianity. "Here is found the most fundamental difference between liberalism and Christianity: liberalism is altogether in the imperative mood, while Christianity begins with a triumphant indicative; liberalism appeals to man's will, while Christianity announces, first, a gracious act of God".³⁵³

In regard to the doctrines of God and man, Machen's disagreement with liberalism arose at the point where modern liberals weaken the concept of God and man's consciousness of sin. Machen had stated previously that the gospel is the central idea of Christianity and that its major theme of God's saving work can only be correctly understood on the basis of these two crucial presuppositions of Christianity. We have already been told by Machen that the message of Christ is the centre of Christianity and that was determined in the perspective that Christ was God's incarnation. Machen did not accept the liberals' indifference to the concept of God and the resulting lack of attempt to come to know God. According to Machen, the phrase 'Jesus is God' does not convey any profound meaning unless the identity of God is first specified. This view seems to be slightly different from that of other evangelical theologians of his day, whose views adhered to Jesus Christ as the proof of God's existence. However, it is not that Machen denies that Christ was another mode of God's revelation, but he focused on the Sovereign divinity of God the Father, which idea he thought was deteriorated and misunderstood as the 'universal fatherhood of God' by modern men.

Machen's own belief is that Christ himself possessed a knowledge of God through his personal contact with the heavenly Father. Jesus' disciples also had acquaintance with God through their direct relationship with Jesus. However, what Machen considered to be important in understanding the revelation of God was that the concept of God was significantly and sufficiently manifested in the ministry of

³⁵³ Ibid., p. 47.

Jesus, following Old Testament heritage and Jesus' own teaching. "The relation of Jesus to His heavenly Father was not a relation which merely clothed itself in a symbolic, personal form. On the contrary, it was a relation to a real Person, whose existence was just as much a subject of theoretic knowledge as the existence of the lilies of the field that God had clothed".³⁵⁴ Here Machen's purpose was to indicate that Jesus' knowledge of God was 'practical', not in the sense which liberals claim it to be, but in the sense that Jesus' practical knowledge of God (i.e. everything that Jesus knew about God touched his heart and determined his actions) was the fundamental source of the inspiration and motivation of his ministry. On this point, Machen put forward a critical argument against the liberals' perception of Jesus as having a practical knowledge of God while lacking objective reality. He did not think that Jesus was an atheist, which was suggested by some liberals on the basis that Jesus had an impersonal and vague relationship with his heavenly Father. Giving full authority to Jesus' words and deeds, Machen explains that the concept of God is fully expressed by and presupposed in the teaching of Jesus Christ. This is the logical confirmation of Jesus' self-awareness of God, which confirms the intimate relationship between the aspects of Triune God.

In the discussion of "rational theism" (the knowledge of one Supreme Person) Machen's explanation is inconvenienced by not having extensive scholarly views about how one conceives one's knowledge of God. Machen seems to defend his knowledge of God only by quoting plausible Scriptural references, and seems to lack secondary sources which could act as further evidence and examples to support his ideas. To strengthen his explanation, Machen could have discussed the subject from an epistemological point of view, exploring the function of human reason in understanding God's general and special revelation. Since the purpose of his book was to criticise liberalism, Machen could have consciously and decisively used scientific analysis to support his belief against atheists and naturalists. However, Machen avoided philosophical and scientific approaches in dealing with ontological

³⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 56.

matters. He based his argument mainly upon the historical records of the Bible. This methodology is a somewhat vague and ineffective way to speak of personal God when battling against liberals of his day, because a majority of them assumed that the Bible is fallible and, hence, did not consider it to be a reliable source for discussion of the matter. Machen based his argument on the idea that the Scriptures themselves are the answers to all questions whilst liberals of his day argued for the need to interpret the Scriptures in the light of God-human perspectives. For instance, as Machen himself noted, the modern liberal's usage of the term 'Father' does not necessarily imply the patristic understanding of the 'Father' in the Trinity. A modern doctrine of the universal fatherhood of God is inclusive in its character, since it perceives God as the father of all men. This makes not only those who make a covenant with God but also non-Christians receive sonship. On the other hand, the image of the Father in the Old Testament conveys the covenant relationship only between God Himself and His children (chosen ones).

Machen's view is seen in the doctrine of God's predestination of His children. Machen recalls the Calvinist understanding of God's fatherhood. Machen perceives that the name 'Father' was only given by the chosen people as a token of their salvation through Jesus Christ. He supports this idea by explaining that Jesus had never taught the universal fatherhood of God. Neither in the parable of the Prodigal Son nor in the Sermon on the Mount there is any element implying the Father as the universal father. Hence, for Machen, it was nonsense to say 'God is the Father of all' because this would have implied that anyone, regardless of his or her faith, would be able to see God's Kingdom. Those to whom Jesus had referred and with whom he had relationships in the gospels were "members of the chosen people" or at least, the people "designated as sons of God".³⁵⁵ It is significant that, in explaining the fatherhood of God, Machen does not speak of God's unfairness toward all human beings but focuses our attention upon His cares for all beings as the Author of the whole of creation. His love is unconditional in that His grace and

³⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 60.

mercy extend to all creation. However, ultimately, Machen rejects the idea that all are saved.³⁵⁶ Through Jesus' redeeming sacrifice, the chosen people were reconciled with God and became His children.

Machen believes that liberalism is distinguished from Christianity because it misconceives not only the doctrine of God but also the doctrine of man. As a strict Calvinist, Machen undoubtedly regarded man as a sinner. He followed the traditional view of Calvinism, which claims a divine image of man was destroyed as a result of Adam's fall. On the contrary, modern liberals disregard the consciousness of sin. Machen finds an error in liberalism's idea of "supreme confidence in human goodness".³⁵⁷ Instead of perceiving the sinful nature of human in the perspective of total depravity of soul and body, Machen thought that liberals believed that social evil is often caused by unjust acts on the part of oppressors. Seeing man as a moral being (on the ground of virtue and integrity), liberals defend the innocence of the weak and condemn the evil characteristics of their oppressors. What has been lost in this standpoint, according to Machen, is condemnation of others by forgetting one's own sin. He stated that the Christianity begins with consciousness of sin because without consciousness of sin, the whole of the gospel will be an idle tale.³⁵⁸ No man is without sin, for every one has inherited sin from the first person. However, this original sin is removed by God's grace.³⁵⁹ The aim of the gospel is, therefore, to deliver sinners from the bondage of sin by Christ's atonement. From this point of view, Machen tries to find an explanation of how man is transformed from darkness to light. He affirms that men come to repentance as they are convinced of their sins, firstly by God's calling. Hence, modern preaching of human goodness has nothing to do with the doctrine of salvation, which was fulfilled in the life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ.

³⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 124.

³⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 64.

³⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 66.

³⁵⁹ Ibid.

The essential features of Machen's fundamental Christian doctrines are equally valued and emphasised in Hyung-ryong Park's theology. Some theologians, including Yong-kyu Park (professor of historical theology at Chong Shin Seminary) have attempted to label Park's theology with different names following a chronological order. According to Yong-kyu Park, Park identified his theology as 'Calvinist orthodox theology' in the 1940s, 'conservative evangelical faith' in the 1950s, and 'fundamentalism' in the 1960s.³⁶⁰ It is true that Park did not personally identify himself as fundamentalist until the 1960s when he strongly felt it was necessary to distinguish 'orthodox' faith from liberalism. However, when liberalism emerged in the 1930s among the Korean churches, Park and his followers were labelled as fundamentalists by their critics, such as Jae-jun Kim, Chang-kun Song and Kyung-oak Chung. Kyung-oak Chung identified Park as 'a professional Calvinist' and 'the spokesperson of American fundamentalism'. Not only does Kyung-oak Chung's statement indicate that Park's theology was fundamentalist in its character from its very onset, but the following definition from Park's writings shows that he equated fundamentalism with Christianity.

Fundamentalism is nothing but orthodoxy and Christian orthodox. Furthermore, it is something which accepts and believes the historical and orthodox tradition of Christianity. As much as it [fundamentalism] is identical with orthodox faith, fundamentalism can most adequately be defined as Christianity itself. Fundamentalism is surely Christianity itself... By examining the attitude posed by the apostle Paul, we come to understand that Christianity never accepts any 'other gospel' (Gal. 1:8), for there can be no two Christianities. In his famous book *Christianity and Liberalism*, Dr. Machen affirmed that Christianity and liberalism are two different thought systems based on two different roots. He asserted that liberalism is not Christianity. In this respect, I define fundamentalism as an absolute Christianity itself.³⁶¹

From this paragraph, we see that Park perceived fundamentalism as the Christian orthodoxy and the only way to defend traditional doctrines against liberalism. Undoubtedly, Machen's biblical and theological methodologies became the foundations for Park's fundamentalist views. Park views Machen's standpoint as

³⁶⁰ Yong-kyu Park ed., *The Life and Thought of Dr. Hyung Nong Park*, Seoul: Chong Shin University Press, 1996, pp. 342-355.

an attempt to convey the instruction of the Bible without contradiction and to defend the historical objective evangelical Christianity.³⁶² This is why the fundamentalist-liberal controversy is viewed as a confrontation between the objective supernaturalism of God's revelation, which was actualised by the Holy Spirit's subjective work, and natural philosophy and man's subjective moralistic work.

Park criticises liberals (such as Harry Emerson Fosdick) as being indifferent to Christian doctrines and creeds which are composed on the basis of the Scriptures. He finds the cause of this tendency in modern men's fondness of science, which seems to 'blind' and 'anesthetize' man's mind to the spiritual aspect of Christianity.³⁶³ He supposes that modern man's life is dominated by the principles of science and, thus, man is more keen on empirical data than contemplation of the transcendence of Christianity. Park's negative views of science are derived from its inconsistency with the teachings of the Bible. What science offers to religion is not clear support for the 'facts' recorded in the Scriptures, but uncertainty and doubts. Park was not willing to accept science as a possible means to interpret the word of God. Park perceived Christianity as a transcendent religion which contains elements that require the illumination of the Holy Spirit rather than scientific evidence. Neither did he think doctrines are to be discussed merely on the basis of individual experience. When doctrines are believed to be founded upon an individual's subjective experience, the objective revelation of God is dimmed. According to Park, creeds are not the expressions of a believer's experiences, but statements of facts that become the basis for the individual's experience.³⁶⁴

Following Machen's conservative view, Park raised objections to liberalism's assertion of Christianity as 'life' rather than 'doctrine'. Quoting Galatians 1:8, Park explains that the early Christian movement was founded upon doctrines or an

³⁶¹ Hyung-ryong Park, *A Complete Works of Dr. Hyung-ryong Park Vol. XIII*, op. cit., p. 280-281.

³⁶² Ibid., p. 289.

³⁶³ Ibid. Vol. VIII, p. 42.

invariable 'message', rather than upon what modern liberals imply it to be, namely a mode of life. In this statement, there is a hidden message which affirms and identifies fundamentalism with the genuine gospel, which the apostles shared with all other early Christians. This indicates that modern liberalism's view of Christianity as a mode of life is only a 'self-determined' statement that departs from the original implications of the Scriptures. In so far as Park recognises that the liberals relinquish the teachings of the apostle Paul and of the primitive church, and turn to Jesus' life and teaching which, they believe, did not contain doctrines, he was uncertain about their making of Jesus the "advocate of a pure, formless, and non-doctrinal religion".³⁶⁵

Employing the same idea that Machen used, Park asserted that Jesus taught doctrines both directly and indirectly by means of foretelling his atonement, and identifying himself as the Son of God. Since Park also believed that Jesus had declared himself to be the legislator and the judge in the Sermon on the Mount, the Golden Rule which liberals believe to be sufficient guidance for human life is abstract and meaningless in itself without grasping Jesus as the Saviour. Christianity would not exist if Christ had been absent. Sharply distinguishing Christianity as an orthodoxy which is distinct from liberalism, Park understands orthodox as 'upright thinking', regardless of its predominance among the majority of religions. It is his argument that, since every nation establishes its orthodoxy according to its own criteria, such as predominant ideas and traditional culture(s), it should rather be defined in terms of revelation of God. In other words, Park affirmed that absolute epistemological authority lies with the Bible which was written by the revelation of God through inspiration.³⁶⁶ Hence, the most orthodox doctrine, for Park, is the word of Christ and the teachings of the apostles, which are now inherited and developed by fundamentalists.

³⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 42.

³⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 43.

³⁶⁶ Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. XIV*, op. cit., pp. 161-162.

However, Park believed that not all those who adopt and interpret the Bible are to be considered as orthodox, for not all doctrines conform properly to the original intentions of the text. He substantiated this by noting that Roman Catholics place the authority of Pope over the Word of God and that some Lutherans misconceive the doctrines and Sacraments as the whole idea of Christianity and so ignore Christian experience which comes through the power of the Holy Spirit.³⁶⁷ For this reason, Park upheld Calvinistic doctrines as the most sufficient and complete interpretation of the Bible. Park recognised Calvin as the greatest Protestant scholar, since he believed that Calvin's theological approach to the Bible was greater in depth than that of Martin Luther's or Philip Melanchthon. Park affirmed that "whereas Episcopalian, Baptist, and Congregational churches are considered as the subsidiary line of Calvinism, Reformed and Presbyterian churches are placed in a direct line of Calvinism".³⁶⁸ Park treats the latter churches as the most orthodox in the sense that they strictly adhere to the 17th century English version of the Westminster Confession of Faith.

Park criticised liberals attempting to devalue the theology of Calvin, of Turretin and of the theologians of Westminster. Park said that modern liberals justified their criticism of conservatives by saying that liberals did not intend to disregard the doctrines of the Bible, but to examine what makes the theology of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (which were developed by the contemporary atmosphere of the thoughts) unique.³⁶⁹ When liberals argue that even Calvinist theology was formed under the influence of its contemporary theological context, it is as if as "Anselm was discussing the God-Man relationship on the [basis of the] eleventh century concept of feudal system, while Grotius and Bushnell were discussing the same subject respectively on [the basis of] the seventeenth century concept of nationalism and the nineteenth century incident of the Civil War".³⁷⁰

³⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 165.

³⁶⁸ Ibid.

³⁶⁹ Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. VIII*, op. cit., p. 44.

³⁷⁰ Ibid.

Against this statement, Park asserted that the doctrines of the church were founded upon the Bible and not upon the thoughts of certain ages and localities. This implies that, in Park's thinking, the core of Christianity is the Bible (in particular, its transcendent aspects) and that contemporary social and cultural discourses have little or no relevance to this core.

Not far from what Machen claimed about the doctrine of God and man, Park argued that 'the knowledge of God' is the ultimate and essential way to experience God. Park did not believe that one can sense the existence of God without having knowledge about God. It is, he said, "in the same way that as one feels affection toward his friend through his own knowledge about his friend's character" that we come to realise God's existence through our knowledge about His revelation.³⁷¹ This view criticises liberalism's emphasis on God's presence by sense rather than by knowledge. Since Park believed that no one could feel God's existence unless he or she knows who God is, he asserted that the fundamental relationship between God and man can only be built by man's discerning God's existence first. According to Park, liberals claim that one can know God only through Jesus Christ, rather than through God's general and special revelation. However, Park did not credit this statement as one which fundamentalist Christians should follow, since he found in it a degeneration of God's revelation.³⁷² He explained that Jesus actually confirmed other ways to know God. Jesus found God's mysterious work in nature and God's righteousness in the moral law. Above all, Park affirmed that the OT prophets and poets are the most conspicuous witnesses of God's existence. Thus, Park understood that the essence of God is not to be viewed in the nature of Jesus alone, but also in the perspective of the Supreme Being who created the universe and is the sole Ruler over His creation.³⁷³ Park seems to have understood that the concept of God is not simply confined to the Person Jesus, although Jesus fully

³⁷¹ Ibid., p. 46.

³⁷² Ibid.

³⁷³ Ibid., pp. 46-47.

manifested God's will to humanity. Man also needs to discern His actual being in greater depth (such as the doctrine of the Trinity) through His self-revelation.

Park equally condemned liberalism's perception of God as the universal Father. In this condemnation, he concurred with Machen. Park clearly stated that the term 'father' was not monopolised by Christianity alone but was also by ancient polytheists as to indicate the meaning 'All-Father'.³⁷⁴ Park further explains that the concept of Father was given to Israelites in the Old Testament period as to imply that God intended to keep His promise to preserve His own children. This point of view is worked out by Park in the following quote. He made plain from his own perspective why he disagrees with the idea God being the universal Father: "The universal fatherhood of God asserted by liberal theology is found nowhere in the Bible. One thing described in the Bible is that God was known as the Father of Israelites in the OT, and the Father of Christians in the teachings of Jesus".³⁷⁵ Hence, Park leaves no room for God's relationship with non-elected people. The image of Father in the Bible is to be understood only in the context of Christianity. It was Park's understanding that even when Paul was convincing Gentiles that they were 'God's offspring' (Acts 17:28), it was only spoken in the sense that God was the Creator of all beings. In other words, the Fatherhood of God is only conceded when one talks of the relationship of the Creator with His creation.

The evil nature of man is the starting point for Park's discussion of the doctrine of man. Park denied the views of Willard Sperry, who denied the depravity of man (since he believed that the progenitor of the human race was not a moral being but was evolved from animals). Firstly, Park did not accept the idea that man was evolved from animal. This point is undoubtedly one of the fundamentalist beliefs. Park believed that anything that has to do with evolutionism is harmful to the biblical understanding of creation. To deny that God created humanity, as distinct from animals, in His own image is to reject the inspiration of the Bible and the

³⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 47.

³⁷⁵ Ibid.

revelation of God. Secondly, based upon this primary argument, Park did not agree that man's sinful acts of man originated from his or her animal nature. If the animal nature of human were the cause of the sinful act, then, Park would not necessarily believe that man was 'depraved'. To say that man is 'depraved' is to presume that man was actually in a moral state in the first place. Hence, if one speaks of depravity in terms of man's animal nature, one is making God the originator of evil acts.³⁷⁶ Therefore, to Park, making man without sin or, at least, attempting to provide an excuse for man's sinful nature by applying the theory of evolutionism is absurd, for it can perhaps be understood only when man's consciousness is absent.

We have thus far examined how Park has criticised liberalism, comparing his criticisms to the theological methods and principles which Machen had employed when he militantly resisted the rising power of modern liberalism. Like Machen, Park was a fundamentalist whose theological principles later became the foundation of Presbyterian churches in Korea and the basis for ignoring any theological influences other than Princeton Calvinism. Strictly speaking, Park was not only a champion of fundamentalism in the sense that he opposed liberalism, but also an exclusivist who even condemned other conservative theologies which he thought were non Calvinistic in character.

His fundamentalist theology contributed, to some extent, to Korean Christianity's views on Christian history. It challenged many Korean Christians and theologians to regard the Bible as the main source to understand God's revelation. On the other hand, Park's fundamentalist theology criticised other evangelical theologies in Korea which, he thought, inclined towards new evangelicalism. One of the negative aspects Park found in new evangelicalism (which he identifies with Barthian theology) was its tendency to challenge the five fundamental Christian doctrines established by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. Park's criticism of new evangelicalism gave an impression that fundamentalist theology was the only correct form of theology. The bipolarity of theological perspectives

³⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 102-103.

between the two parties gradually increased the severe controversy on theological matters among the Presbyterian Churches.

From 1960, the Korean fundamentalists have been widely regarded as 'separatists' because of their tendency to separate themselves from new evangelicalism and liberalism. Park wrote as following:

Fundamentalists are often criticised as "separatists". This is because the liberal theology is invading the church to confuse the original faith of the church. This is why some objections and splits are unavoidable while attempting to preserve our Christian faith. Who, then, is to get all the blame for such a split? If we kept silent and passed the whole church on to liberals, there would not be a split. However, is that a right thing to do? As far as the apostles and historical churches embraced the true Gospel and rejected the strange Gospel, so do we have right to object to liberalism.³⁷⁷

Although Park respected the value of both Christian doctrines and the unity of the church, he regarded the former as more important than the latter. It was common sense to him that in preserving "the historical-traditional faith of orthodoxy" that splits in the Korean church would become inevitable.³⁷⁸ After the split of *Tong Hap* (ecumenical movement) and *Hap Dong* (conservative evangelicals; fundamentalists), he firmly stood on the grounds of fundamentalism and consistently defended his fundamentalist standpoint against other theological opinions. When Park affiliated with *Hap Dong*, he considered *Tong Hap* to be part of new evangelicalism. He criticised new evangelicalism for following reasons: new evangelicalism's 'antipathy towards fundamentalism', 'destructive biblical criticism', 'denial of the inerrancy of the Bible', 'participation in the WCC social gospel movement', 'the secular movement', 'the scientific approach to the Bible', 'theistic evolutionism and progressive creationism', 'denial of miracles', 'questioning the virgin birth of Christ', 'superficial understanding of the doctrine of heaven and hell', 'extensive religious syncretism', 'compromise with liberals', 'fellowship with liberals', 'preference for remaining within a depraved denomination', 'ecumenical movement for the unity of the church', 'ecumenical

³⁷⁷ Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. XIII*, op. cit., pp. 286-287.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 287.

movement through NAE', 'ecumenical movement through Billy Graham', and 'because they are misguided brethren or half-hearted heretics'.³⁷⁹

Leaving aside what Park had said, the new evangelicals believed that the fundamentalist movement had lost its original purpose, because it had failed to meet the church's theological, historical, and academic needs. Furthermore, they argued that fundamentalism fell into the denominational, radical dispensational view of eschatology, anti-culturalism, and anti-intellectualism.³⁸⁰ Unlike Americans who preferred to use the term 'evangelicalism' rather than 'new evangelicalism', Korean fundamentalists, including Park, strictly classified those who joined WCC and those who affiliated with neo-orthodox as new evangelicals. In fact, although some Korean new evangelical theologians held slightly broader theological perspectives than the fundamentalist theology, most of them maintained the same biblical views and evangelical theology which fundamentalism held. In addition, in spite of their tolerant theological standpoint, many new evangelicals had not actually abandoned what the fundamentalists believed in—namely, the inspiration of the Bible, the virgin birth of Jesus, Christ's ransoming death and physical resurrection, and supernatural miracles. Therefore, instead of finding the best way of accommodating the different theological understandings of Christian theologians in Korea, both fundamentalism and liberalism had left their impressions on the church. Both groups were in need of understanding the value of diversity within unity.

A study of Old Princeton theologians such as Alexander, Hodge, Warfield and Machen is essential in the sense that their ideas offer clues as to how Park came to see fundamentalism as central to the needs of the Korean church and as providing a bulwark against modern criticism. The next chapter will discuss Park's fundamentalist theology in relation to theological doctrines as described in *The Fundamentals: A Testimony to Truth* and the parts of those volumes that led him to adhere to those doctrines.

³⁷⁹ Ibid., Vol. IX, op. cit., pp. 101-125.

³⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 101.

2.2. Hyung-ryong Park's Fundamentalist Standpoint in Relation to Theological Doctrines as Described in *The Fundamentals: A Testimony to Truth*

2.2.1. The Five Fundamental Doctrines of the Christian Faith

The purpose of this section is to analyse critically Park's fundamentalist theology in relation to some theological doctrines discussed in *The Fundamentals*. Browning's third submovement (systematic theology) is covered in this section. In line with this submovement, I examine generic features of Park's fundamentalism in relation to generic features of the theological issues described in *The Fundamentals*. Before doing this, I discuss four things: first, I will briefly describe *The Fundamentals*; second, I will point out some historians' misunderstanding that the 'five-point' doctrinal statements are the core of American fundamentalism; third, I will discuss if there is any relationship between American fundamentalism and *The Fundamentals*, and finally, I will examine how Korean fundamentalism came to define its movement with five-point declaration. These kind of studies are necessary in order to understand how Korean fundamentalism developed in its particular context, and its similarities and differences from American fundamentalism.

We have learned from the earlier chapter that the term 'fundamentalist' was coined in 1920 and was commonly used in America to refer to Christians who were strongly hostile to twentieth century modernism, such as biblical criticism, theological liberalism and evolutionism. Interestingly, the theological issues which most fundamentalists had argued for were addressed to some extent in a series of publications known as *The Fundamentals*. The preface of *The Fundamentals* states that the primary purpose of its publication was to distribute freely a series of pamphlets to pastors and church leaders in order to witness the fundamentals of the Christian faith to the secular world.¹ The articles published in *The Fundamentals* were mostly contributed by conservative theologians and lay people from England,

¹ R. A. Torrey et al., *The Fundamentals: A Testimony to the truth*, LA.: BIOLA, reprinted Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1970, p. 5.

Scotland, Ireland, Canada, and the United States. The volumes were widely circulated between 1909 and 1915 throughout the United States, and the editors received thousands of letters of appreciation as well as of criticism.² The volumes contained various kinds of theological and missiological issues, such as, the view of Scripture, apologetics, the Trinity, Darwinism and evolutionism, personal testimony, and other Christian doctrines.

The question whether these publications had a direct impact upon the fundamentalist movement of the 1920s is difficult to answer. There is no clear evidence that the theological doctrines described in *The Fundamentals* were adopted by the fundamentalist groups of the 1920s and, moreover, these publications were written before the rise of the movement.³ However, as to the question whether there was a significant relationship between Korean fundamentalism and *The Fundamentals*, one can confidently state that there is intimate connection between the two. Thus, the purpose of this chapter is to discuss the relationship of *The Fundamentals* to the work of Hyung-ryong Park. This will be accomplished first through a brief examination of the historical background of the Presbyterian five-point declaration and the writings in *The Fundamentals*, and secondly by comparing these articles with Park's own theological treatises.

Since Stewart G. Cole, the early historian of the fundamentalist controversy, reported that the five fundamental doctrines were first written down in 1895, the majority of Presbyterians seem to have believed this assertion.⁴ However, according to Ernest Sandeen, the founding of the fundamental doctrines can be traced back to 1895, and there were not just five, but fourteen articles.⁵ In that year,

² Stewart G. Cole, *The History of Fundamentalism*, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1963, p. 56.

³ Harris argues that *The Fundamentals* did not have a significant impact on fundamentalism because it did not expound a fundamentalist creed and did not display any of the aggression against modernists which typifies fundamentalism (Harriet Harris, *Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism*, op. cit., pp. 27-28).

⁴ Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism 1800-1930*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970, p. xiv.

⁵ Ibid., pp. xiv-xv. Citing the purpose of the 1878 Niagara Creed as the 'honoring of the Lord' against infidelity, the members of the conference came to declare the following written articles:

a notable Bible and prophetic conference was held in New York city. At this conference fourteen fundamental articles were established. This coincided with a millenarian movement which developed in the United States as a prophetic movement. In order to restore the final authority of the Bible and traditional

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- 1) We believe "that all Scripture is given by inspiration of God," by which we understand the whole of the book called the Bible;... and that His divine inspiration is not in different degrees, but extends equally and fully to all parts of these writings, historical, poetical, doctrinal and prophetic... (2 Tim. 3:16-17; 2 Pet. 1:21, etc.)
 - 2) We believe that the Godhead eternally exists in three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; and these three are one God, having precisely the same nature, attributes and perfections, ... (Mk. 12:29; Jn. 1;1-4, etc.)
 - 3) We believe that man, originally created in the image and after the likeness of God, fell from his high and holy estate by eating the forbidden fruit,...(Gen. 1:26; Eph. 2:1-3, etc.)
 - 4) We believe that this spiritual death, or total corruption of human nature, has been transmitted to the entire race of man, the man Christ Jesus alone excepted... (Gen. 6:5; Psa. 14:1-3, etc.)
 - 5) We believe that, owing to this universal depravity and death in sin, no one can enter the kingdom of God unless born again;... (Isa. 64:6; Jn. 3:5, etc.)
 - 6) We believe that our redemption has been accomplished solely by the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, ... dying in our room and stead;... (Lev. 17:11; Matt. 26:28, etc)
 - 7) We believe that Christ, in the fullness of the blessings He has secured by His obedience unto death, is received by faith alone, and that the moment we trust in Him as our Saviour we pass out of death into everlasting life,... (Jn. 5:24; Acts 13:39, etc.)
 - 8) We believe that it is the privilege, not only of some, but of all who are born again by the Spirit through faith in Christ as revealed in the Scriptures, to be assured of their salvation from the very day they take Him to be their Saviour; and that this assurance is not found upon any fancied discovery of their own worthiness, but wholly upon the testimony of God... (Lk. 10:20; Jn. 6:47, etc.)
 - 9) We believe that all the Scriptures from first to last center about our Lord Jesus Christ,... (Lk. 24:27; Jn. 5:39, etc.)
 - 10) We believe that the Church is composed of all who are united by the Holy Spirit to the risen and ascended Son of God, that by the same Spirit we are baptized into one body,... (Matt. 16:16-18; Acts 2:32-47; etc.)
 - 11) We believe that the Holy Spirit, not as an influence, but as a Divine Person, the source and power of all acceptable worship and service, is our abiding Comforter and Helper,... (Jn. 7:38; Acts 1:8, etc.)
 - 12) We believe that we are called with a holy calling to walk, not after the flesh, but after the Spirit, and so to live in the Spirit that we should not fulfill the lusts of the flesh;... (Rom. 8:12-13; Gal. 5:16-25, etc.)
 - 13) We believe that the souls of those who have trusted in the Lord Jesus Christ for salvation do at death immediately pass into His presence, and there remain in conscious bliss until the resurrection of the body at His coming, when soul and body reunited shall be associated with Him forever in the glory;... (Lk. 16:19-26; 2 Cor. 5:8, etc)
 - 14) We believe that the world will not be converted during the present dispensation, but is fast ripening for judgment, while there will be a fearful apostasy in the professing Christian body; and hence that the Lord Jesus will come in person to introduce the millennial age, when Israel shall be restored to their own land, and the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord;... (Lk. 12:35-40; Thess. 2:3-8, etc.) (Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism*, op. cit., pp. 273-277. The articles are directly quoted from Sandeen's book, but I mainly written down the central ideas of the articles without sub-explanations).

doctrines, the conservative theologians and church leaders of the prophetic movement, who were mainly Episcopalian, Presbyterian and Baptist, adopted these fourteen essential doctrines as their testimony of Christian faith.⁶ In 1910, the Presbyterian General Assembly adopted and summarised them into five points: 1) the inerrancy of Scripture, 2) the Virgin Birth of Christ, 3) his substitutionary atonement, 4) his bodily resurrection, and 5) the authenticity of the miracles. Interestingly, as Marsden states, during the 1920s, the phrase 'the five points of fundamentalism' often referred to these Presbyterian points and sometimes to the Presbyterian points with the premillennial return of Christ substituted for miracles as the fifth point.⁷ So, it should be noted that the fundamentalist movement of the 1920s identified itself neither with the fourteen original articles nor with the later (1910) five-point declaration. It was, rather, a broad coalition of all kinds of American Protestants who were eager to defend ecclesiastical and theological values against liberalism and modernism.⁸ Harris also notes that American fundamentalism of the 1920s had no particular connection with the five-point doctrinal statements.⁹ Furthermore, she argues that finding the beginnings of fundamentalism from *The Fundamentals* can be misleading, because "the volumes did not have a huge impact, and were moderate in style and irenic in intention".¹⁰ Harris's argument is plausible because, knowing that fundamentalism was a coalition of diverse denominations including anti-evolutionists, it is possible that fundamentalists might have read them for their own advantage, but might not have used them as their textbooks. Harris further explains that these volumes constituted a strong message against the newly emerging higher criticism and evolutionary thought but did not show the significant hostility towards modernists in the churches that marked the fundamentalism of the 1920s. Harris's argument is

⁶ Ibid., p. xv. The church leaders who drew up the fourteen articles of faith included James H. Brookes, Adoniram J. Gordon, Arthur T. Pierson, William J. Erdman, Nathaniel West, and William R. Nicholson.

⁷ George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, op. cit., p. 262.

⁸ George Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism*, op. cit., p. 57.

⁹ Harriet Harris, op. cit., pp. 25-26.

¹⁰ Ibid.

significant in that it helps us to see that the fundamentalist movement of the 1920s was not simply confined to a certain limited set of Christian doctrines (such as the earlier five-point statements, the theological points discussed in *The Fundamentals*, or the fourteen original articles established at the Niagara Conference of 1895).

It is reasonable to ask, then, how Korean fundamentalism came to understand itself as a defender of both five-point doctrinal statements and Christian orthodoxy. Hyung-ryong Park saw the emergence of American fundamentalism as the inevitable reaction against modern liberalism. Park defined the term 'fundamentalism' in both narrow and broad perspectives. In a narrow perspective, he said fundamentalism adhered to "the five essential doctrines (the inerrancy of the Bible, the virgin birth of Christ, his substitutionary atonement, his bodily resurrection, and his bodily return) which were established at the Niagara Conference of 1895".¹¹ However, in a broader sense, fundamentalism was "a struggle between conservative and modern liberals within American Protestantism".¹² These definitions show that Park understood American fundamentalism as a movement which arose to defend the 'five-point' doctrinal statements and, at the same time, to fight against modern liberals. In fact, he formulated his definition of fundamentalism as an 'anti-liberalism': because liberals concentrated their attacks on the 'five-point' doctrinal faith, Park centred his definition of fundamentalism on this.¹³ Park himself was mistaken in believing (as were Stewart Cole, Robert Handy and Louis Gasper) that the five points were established at the Niagara Conference of 1895. Park cited Stewart G. Cole's book *The History of Fundamentalism* as the most reliable source to understand fundamentalism.¹⁴ Following Cole, Park cited that Harry Emerson Fosdick as the prominent liberal Presbyterian who rejected such essential doctrines as biblical inerrancy, the virgin birth of Christ, and his Second Coming. He also referred to *The*

¹¹ Hyung-ryong Park, *A Complete Works of Dr. Hyung-ryong Park Vol. XIII*, Seoul: Korean Christian Education Research Centre, 1978, p. 279.

¹² Ibid., p. 280.

¹³ Ibid., p. 279.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 276.

Fundamentals, which he thought were published mainly to defend the historical faith of Christianity.¹⁵ He regarded the writers of these volumes highly, because he viewed them as loyal Christians and spiritual warriors who attempted to restore the faith of the apostolic tradition.¹⁶

After investigating the term 'fundamentalism' in such sources as Cole's book, Park concluded that the movement should be best described as "an act of insisting upon traditional orthodox faith, such as the inerrancy of the Bible and other fundamental principles and creeds of Protestantism, and of fortifying true apostolic tradition from its enemy".¹⁷ So, in his understanding, fundamentalism was not only an anti-modernist movement but also a militant defence of fundamental doctrines of Protestant Christianity. More evidence is given by Young-kyu Park. Young-kyu Park states that Hyung-ryong Park had followed the same path as Gresham Machen in condemning biblical criticism and modernism. Furthermore, he explains that Hyung-ryong Park's theological dispute with liberalism always centred upon the "verbal inspiration and inerrancy of the Bible and the other four fundamental doctrines (the virgin birth of Christ, his death as a substitutionary atonement, his bodily resurrection from the dead, and his bodily return in the second advent)".¹⁸ Young-kyu Park's statement is worth noting because Hyung-ryong Park himself had believed the movement was distinctive in the sense it militantly defended traditional doctrines.

Hence, it is important to notice that Hyung-ryong Park understood American fundamentalism to be not only anti-modernist movement, but also to be a defence of the five points. One also needs to understand that Korean fundamentalism, as we have seen in the fundamentalist-liberal controversy, emerged as a strong reaction to liberals' challenges to those five points. It is obvious, therefore, that unlike American fundamentalism which mainly arose to battle against cultural modernism

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 278.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 278.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 280.

¹⁸ Young-kyu Park, *A History of Presbyterian Theological Thought in Korea*, Seoul: Chongshin Publishing Co., 1992, pp. 197-198.

and theological liberalism, Korean fundamentalism's aim was to defend the five major doctrines against Korean theological liberalism. It is fair to say, then, that Korean fundamentalism emerged as a separate entity as a result of the efforts made by both American missionaries and by Hyung-ryong Park (who had followed fundamentalist theology and Old Princeton tradition),¹⁹ along with the Korean church's encounter with its own liberalism in the 1930s. This is significant for all of this thesis since Korean fundamentalism was theologically influenced by American fundamentalism but was not identical to it.

Careful examination of Hyung-ryong Park's five-point doctrine in relation to the essays in *The Fundamentals* will show us how much he was indebted to these volumes. Particularly in regard to the fifth point, Park's understanding of eschatology differs from dispensationalism, since he preferred classic premillennialism to dispensational premillennialism. However, it is evident in his theological writings that he had the same views as other fundamentalists of his time about the doctrine of Jesus' bodily return. The following discussion of Park's thought will show that his understanding of the 'five-point' doctrine was similar to the theological assertions of the writers of *The Fundamentals*.

2.2.2. The Doctrine of Inspiration/ Inerrancy of the Bible

The majority of American and Korean fundamentalists held the doctrine of inspiration and infallibility of the Bible to be the heart of Christian church. When biblical criticism challenged the conservative faith of the Korean church in the 1930s (mainly through Korean theologians who had studied abroad), Park came to be a major advocate of fundamentalism. As we have discussed earlier, the doctrine

¹⁹ Young-kyu Park states that the most influential missionary professors who contributed to the creation of Korean fundamentalism, along with Hyung-ryong Park at Pyung Yang Theological Seminary, were W. B. Hunt, H. E. Blair and F.E. Hamilton. Interestingly, these missionary professors were all educated in Princeton Seminary and were labelled as "hyper-conservatives or fundamentalists", who strictly believed in and taught the five major doctrines. In fact, a number of articles and apologetics were contributed to the Seminary's *Theological Journal* by these professors to emphasise five major doctrines (Young-kyu Park, op. cit., pp. 70,71, 201).

of biblical inerrancy was not a concept followed by Calvin or the wider Christian tradition. It is important to note that Hyung-ryong Park and the writers of *The Fundamentals* perceived this particular doctrine to be part of the orthodox Christian view.²⁰ Following my discussion of Park's views on the doctrine of biblical inerrancy in relation to that of the writers of *The Fundamentals*, I will consider the extent to which this doctrine distorts the Calvinist tradition.

In accordance with those scholars who insisted in *The Fundamentals* on the importance of the doctrine of biblical inspiration, Park was deeply concerned with re-establishing the divine authenticity of the Bible against the emerging trend of biblical criticism. In the face of biblical criticism, he dealt with the question: what is it that verifies the inerrancy of the Bible? Understanding the Bible as the revelation of God, Park explained that the Scriptures are the final authority of the church and were written by God through human writers. The Scriptures were inspired by the Spirit and based upon accurate historical evidence and divine elements. Although Park acknowledged the important role of revelation in the Bible, he did not identify revelation with inspiration. Just as James Gray, who contributed an article to *The Fundamentals*, had understood inspiration as an occasional phenomenon, Park affirmed that inspiration is not revelation itself, but is the path through which God makes His word effective and whole.²¹ By adopting Charles Hodge's theories that "revelation is the act of communicating divine knowledge to the mind" and that "inspiration is the act of the same Spirit controlling those who make that knowledge known to others", Gray distinguished revelation from inspiration.²² This is, in fact, portrayed in the Bible by Abraham having granted a revelation while Moses was endowed with inspiration to make that revelation known to others.

²⁰ Hyung-ryong Park, *The Life and Thought of Dr. Hyung Nong Park*, op. cit., pp. 104-110.

²¹ Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. I*, op. cit., p. 305.

²² James M. Gray, "The Inspiration of the Bible—Definition, Extent and Proof" in *The Fundamentals: A Testimony to the Truth, Vol. III, Ch. 1*, ed. by George Marsden, New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1988, p. 8.

Following this pattern, Park stated that the Old Testament was literally spoken by God and written by the hands of people who were inspired by the Spirit.²³ He asserted that the prophets were the 'appointed messengers of God', whose tasks were to deliver the words of God to His people by His own authority, which was distinct from their own (Isa. 5:16, 59:21, Num. 2:38). How did they actually distinguish God's words from their own? Park referred to a few biblical passages to prove that the prophets were able to discern when the messages of God arrived in their minds and what messages exactly they heard (Num. 16:28, 24:13, I Kings. 12:33, Neh. 6:8). These indeed clearly exhibited of prophecy when the words were prefaced by such phrases as 'for the Lord has spoken' or 'the word of the Lord came to me'.²⁴

Park's explanations of the prophets' deliverance of God's message was based upon the internal evidence of the Bible. Further questions, such as, what the methodologies were which the prophets employed as they prophesied, and in what sense they were inspired, are actually missing from Park's statements. These questions can be answered simply from biblical evidence. However, if one views the issue from a psychological perspective, there needs to be extensive study of whether the prophecies were entirely determined by God's will. What is to be said is important in the context of prophecy, but how that message is to be conveyed is another issue which needs to be considered, so that one can understand the original speaker's intention without bring any misunderstanding into that particular ministry. It is Park's view that the prophets first received the revelation from God and then spoke His words while being inspired by God. Hence, he viewed the prophets as messengers of God, who spoke mainly what God had put in their mouths.

In speaking of inspiration, Park also turned to the apostles, whose inspiration he thought was more 'internalized and continuous' than that of the prophets, in the sense that the work of the Holy Spirit was involved (he seems to refer to the

²³ Hyung-ryong Park, *op. cit.*, pp. 305-307.

²⁴ *Ibid.* p. 306.

manifestation of the Holy Spirit in the apostles' writings and teachings). According to Park, the apostles were guided carefully by the Holy Spirit, and this undoubtedly assured them that their messages were genuine facts.²⁵ Park backed up his statement by demonstrating how solemnly the apostle Paul perceived the gospel as authoritative and accurate (Galatians 1:8). Besides the gospel's own true light, the apostleship actually made their preachings authoritative and effective. We see this especially in the epistles of Paul, where he often indicated that the authenticity of his teaching came from his apostleship which had been obtained from God (Rom. 1:1-2, I Cor. 1:1, Gal. 1:1). Therefore, what made the apostles' preaching to be God's word was the inspiration which came through the work of the Holy Spirit.

Park did not actually discuss whether illumination by the Holy Spirit was different from inspiration. Apparently, when he said that apostles strictly distinguished their own messages from God's message, he seems to have believed that not all illumined believers are inspired people.²⁶ Gray had written that although every regenerated Christian is illuminated by the Holy Spirit, he or she is not necessarily an inspired person, because only the writers of the Old and New Testaments are inspired.²⁷ This explains that only those who were chosen to write down Scripture were inspired. Gray further stated that apostles were not always inspired, but only in times when they were writing sacred books. Thus, inspiration was a kind of seal which secured the writings from error and errancy. Along with most conservative evangelicals of his time, Gray believed that the major purpose of inspiration was not the writers but the writings themselves.²⁸ He did not deny the inspiration of the writers but gave emphasis to the inerrancy of the recorded books. Park agreed with Gray that the inspiration of the Spirit was not only limited to the verbal messages but extended to written words.²⁹ Park believed that if God had felt

²⁵ Ibid. pp. 307-308.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ James M. Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 9.

²⁹ Hyung-ryong Park, *op. cit.*, p. 308.

the necessity of inspiring verbal messages, he would also have acknowledged the importance of guiding the church in all ages through His inspired words.

Park brought the work of the Holy Spirit into the composition of sacred writings, in order to defend the Bible from accusations of possible mistakes. He explained that God had prepared the Holy Spirit to document His words sufficiently and accurately, just in the way He had spoken those words to the writers through the same Spirit.³⁰ The guidance of the Holy Spirit to the writers are explicitly described in the passages where we find God commanding the writers of the Old Testament to record what He had spoken to them (Ex. 17:14, 34:27, Num 33:2, Isa. 8:1). Also, this idea is supported by the prophetic literature where we see the human author indicating God as the third person, but soon God Himself becomes the first person of the message (Isa. 10:12-13, Hos. 4:1-5, 6:1-4). In regard to oral tradition, Park believed that God had put the Spirit in the mouths of those who were passing on the revelation of God.³¹ Although Scripture does not include every single event and incident which happened in the history of Israel, Scripture is both the words of God spoken through the prophets and the history of Israel, provided for the God's salvation work.

While Park referred to Christ and the apostles' allusion to the OT as proof of the Scriptures' authority, he also took into account II Timothy 3:16—"All Scripture is God-breathed..."³² and II Peter 1:21—"For prophecy never had its origin in the will of man, but men spoke from God as they were carried along by the Holy Spirit" as the strongest evidence of the Bible's divine inspiration. Relying on the former passage, The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in America made the following statement in 1893: 'The Bible as we now have it in its various translations and revisions when freed from all errors and mistakes of translators, copyists and

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid., p. 303.

³² Ibid., pp. 310-311. Park preferred the translation of Revised version rather than that of the King James Version, because the latter's translation of the Greek word *theopneustos* as 'inspiration of God' can give impression that God had inspired something which was not from God Himself.

printers, is the very Word of God, and consequently, wholly without error'.³³ In his article "Inspiration" in *The Fundamentals*, I. W. Munhall stated that inspiration means that all the words composing the Bible are God-breathed.³⁴ Similarly, Park stated that the phrase 'God-breathed' does not indicate God's act of breathing into something which originated from humanity, but rather that the words originated from Himself. Hence, Park protested against opinions such as the idea that the words of the Bible are not from God and that divine inspiration was imposed upon oral tradition to ensure the Bible's authority. Citing Revelation 22: 18-19, Park asserted that even the great apostle John considered his own book as being beyond the work of a mere human.³⁵ Thus, the phrase 'God-breathed' further indicates that in bringing forth the revelation of God, God used prophets and psalmists "who were mainly speaking the words preceded by God".³⁶ In other words, the prophets, psalmists, and apostles were wholly chosen by God and were inspired by the inner witness of the Holy Spirit to be instruments for His revelation. Park's point was strongly supported by Munhall who also believed that the Holy Scriptures are the result of the 'Creative Breath of God'.³⁷ He claimed that the apostle Paul, who knew what the expression 'the Oracles of God' would mean to the Jewish community, used the phrase 'God-breathed' to signify that all Scriptures are divinely oracular books. Munhall clearly realised that the concept of 'divinely inspired' is '[a Book of] God's own testimony'.³⁸ Since the proof of the infallibility of the Scriptures rests on the proof of divine inspiration, Munhall and Park both acknowledged how important it is for the words to be considered as the 'utterance and voice of God' carefully written down by the prophets and apostles under the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

³³ I. W. Munhall, "Inspiration" in *The Fundamentals*, Vol. VII, Ch. 2, op. cit. p. 22.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Hyung-ryong Park, op. cit., p. 313.

³⁶ Ibid., pp. 312-313.

³⁷ I. W. Munhall, op. cit., p. 26.

³⁸ Ibid.

With this in mind, I will now examine Park's explanation of the use of human writers under God's guidance, without which there would be difficulty in believing in the supernatural nature of the Bible. The question concerns how God breathed His divine inspiration into the human writers in order to make their writings holy. In discussing this matter, Park first referred to the doctrine of divine-organic inspiration. Following Calvin, Park believed that the Bible was given by God through the medium of human writers. He asserted that the Bible is "as if the living voice of God were to be heard therein".³⁹ According to Park, the fact that God had used men as instruments to compose sacred writings implies that He had implemented His plan through an organic method which was in accord with the biblical writers' true inner beings.⁴⁰ Each of the writers was selected to write certain types of books (such as histories, prophecies, wisdom literature, epistles and apocalyptic literature) according his own background without any fallibility.⁴¹

In his discussions of the method, extent, and definition of biblical inspiration, Park examined other theories which were currently extant, considering each in the light of biblical evidence. Criticising those who viewed 'verbal inspiration' as 'mechanical inspiration', Park stated: "It is absolutely possible to believe that the guidance of the Holy Spirit was even extended to the selection of the vocabulary of the Scriptures, however, this guidance was not simply a mechanical process".⁴² Mechanical inspiration makes human writers merely passive beings who did not consciously respond to the witness of the Holy Spirit and who also did not utilise any of their writing skills in 'their' writings. Park acknowledged that a number of Lutheran and Reformed theologians of the seventeenth century held this view. However, he seemed to doubt that the majority of Reformed Christians had officially given credence to mechanical inspiration, since there was no sanctioned

³⁹ Hyung-ryong Park, *op. cit.*, p. 314. See also John Calvin, *Institute I*, 7, 1.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 315.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 321.

confession of faith which supported this concept.⁴³ Park was fully convinced that the theory of mechanical inspiration was incorrect: firstly, the view was never been accepted formally by Calvin or Reformed theologians; and secondly, the literary style of the Scriptures varies from author to authors, just as their descriptions of events differ from each other.

The second type of inspiration which Park rejected was 'intuitive inspiration'.⁴⁴ This view identifies inspiration as highly sophisticated insights of the sort which every normal person possesses at certain levels. This theory contends that just as the secular understanding of truth has produced philosophy and great literary works of art, general understanding about moral and religious affairs produced the Bible.⁴⁵ Since this intuitive knowledge is part of human nature and distinct from divine inspiration, the Bible can be regarded as purely the work of human writers, wholly composed by their innate intuitive inspiration. If one accepts this theory, the problem is that the Bible is substantially no different from popular poems or literary works written by 'inspired' poets and writers, such as William Shakespeare and Confucius. Gray refuted this idea because he believed that biblical inspiration is distinctively divine inspiration, involving the guidance of a supernatural being. His argument is based on the Bible's unique declaration of its own origin: "No human genius of whom we ever heard introduced his writings with the formula, 'Thus saith the Lord,' or words to that effect, and yet such is the common utterance of the Bible authors".⁴⁶ Park found intuitive inspiration very difficult to rely on, since this view shared some ideas of Pelagius, such as his overestimation of man's capability without God's divine intervention. The following statements are the most conspicuous weak points which Park found in theory of intuitive inspiration: "1) a man's own intuition in the process of morals and religion can lead that man himself

⁴³ Ibid., pp. 321-322. Park states that the Formula Consensus Helvetica (1675) of Switzerland was the confession which came closest to supporting the theory of mechanical inspiration. However, this confession was only accepted in a few places in Switzerland for certain period of time and was abandoned by the next generation.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 322.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ James M. Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

and others into an error without the guidance of supernatural wisdom, because man's intuition is weakened due to a result of man's sin; 2) moral and religious truths are never viewed objectively, but they end up being matters of subjective personal opinions; 3) this theory denies the personal God and places man as the highest intellectual faculty in the universe. However, when personal God is absent, inspiration merely becomes an allegory of spontaneous fact".⁴⁷

The third type of inspiration considered by Park is known as 'dynamical inspiration'. This theory was supported by a number of scholars and theologians, including F. D. E. Schleiermacher, F. W. Robertson, and Frederick Myers. Schleiermacher's theory was that the Holy Spirit had 'dynamically' inspired the writers, i.e. it had inspired them in a general sense and, from this, the writers were able to write their works.⁴⁸ It appealed most to Christians with Armenian backgrounds, since it employed the idea that humans could have cooperated with God in the course of writing the Scriptures. It assumes that the inspiration affected the writers and not the Scriptures.⁴⁹ The writers' inspiration differs quantitatively (rather than qualitatively) from that of 'normal' believers. The tendency which attempted to identify dynamical inspiration with organic inspiration was rejected by Park. He stated that Schleiermacher believed that the Scriptures were written by the apostles (such as the gospel writers and Paul),⁵⁰ who had been greatly influenced by Jesus or, at least, who were active in the boundary of revelation. Park said that Schleiermacher believed that the experience of inspiration affected the characters, thoughts, and speeches of apostles in many ways and it automatically exerted influences on their writings.⁵¹ Since Jesus had inspired his followers with his integrity, the writings which were later written under this influence came to reflect Jesus' mind. Furthermore, he understood that inspiration could only enhance the writers to use all of their normal capacity, but was unable to transmit the objective

⁴⁷ Hyung-ryong Park, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 323.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 322-323.

⁵⁰ According to Park, Schleiermacher took more account of the NT than the OT.

⁵¹ Hyung-ryong Park, *op. cit.*, pp. 322-323.

truth, which was beyond their comprehension and capacity. This inspiration was projected into every part of the Scriptures, but not in the same amount throughout. Schleiermacher did in fact speak of the errancy and imperfection of the Bible, although he acknowledged its inclusion of supreme truths. Thus, Park assumed that Schleiermacher rejected the Bible as the word of God itself, but accepted that it contains the word of God.⁵²

Gray did not accept Schleiermacher's view because he believed that the biblical writers were not always in the state of inspiration.⁵³ Gray strictly distinguished illumination from inspiration, since otherwise, it would be possible for any believer to compose another sacred writings in the future. However, referring back to the text, Gray argued that even the writers of the Bible, such as Moses, David, Paul, and John, made mistakes in thought and conduct. Thus other speeches or written works by those biblical writers would be regarded as non-sacred writings. He went on to say that the Bible is to be understood as the word of God, not in the sense that "God spake every word in the Bible, and hence every word is true", but in the sense that "God caused every word in the Bible, true or false, to be recorded infallibly and inerrantly".⁵⁴ This concept makes fundamentalists, including Gray and Park, see the Bible as being totally the word of God (or the will of God), rather than merely containing it.

Following Gray, Park pointed out further reasons to reject the theory of dynamical inspiration: it deprives the Bible of its supernaturality and destroys its inerrancy by mistreating the biblical basis of inspiration.⁵⁵ Park did not say all this vaguely on the edge of his theological arguments. Instead, he taught his students with enthusiasm and was engaged in debate with Korean liberal theologians. He asserted that there is no doubt that the Holy Spirit had illuminated the biblical writers, but illumination alone would not be able to convey the new truth nor would it

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ James M. Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 10.

⁵⁵ Hyung-ryong Park, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

be able to prevent the Bible from becoming errant.⁵⁶ Illumination is not inevitable for all individuals, because each person's condition is dimmed by his or her depravity, and so everyone needs spiritual guidance to recognise God's revelation. This, according to Park, is the difference between illumination and inspiration; illumination is not concerned with conveyance of truth, but is related to the understanding of the revealed truth, which was given to us by the Spirit through inspiration. The passages such as, Psalm 119:18 "open my eyes that I may see wonderful things in your law" and I Cor. 2:12 "We have... received the Spirit who is from God, that we may understand what God has freely given us" show that illumination is something which believers can request for their guidance, whereas inspiration is wholly given by God, regardless of man's enquiry, on special occasions.

What is Park's view about inspiration? Which theory did Park find strong enough to have based on it the theology of the Korean Presbyterian church? Park held 'organic inspiration' as his first and last biblical understanding. In relation to this, Park warned once again that 'organic inspiration' must not be used interchangeably with 'dynamical inspiration'.⁵⁷ According to his definition, organic inspiration is neither God's unilateral use of men as writing machines nor a whispering of His own words into the ears of the writers. Rather, the organic method corresponds with human writers' inner beings. In other words, the biblical inspiration was not a mechanical process but rather an organic operation, utilising the writers' characters, natural dispositions, talents, educations, cultures, languages, and literary styles.⁵⁸ Park's argument might be reminiscent of Schleiermacher's proposal of the writers' cooperation with God in composing the sacred writings. However, they are different in the sense that 'dynamical inspiration' acknowledges man's capability of composing sacred writings after being influenced by illumination, whereas 'organic inspiration' acknowledges the divine-man

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

cooperation in the sense that God's guidance is the fundamental and primary source of the Scriptures while men are secondary writers. Park explained that "the human writers were not the originators of the biblical messages, but were recipients and promulgators".⁵⁹ God commanded and inspired humans to write the Bible, while preventing all possible fallacies, and selecting their words and expressions. To explain this, Park stated that "the spoken words and the recorded documents of the writers should not be regarded as their own work, but wholly as the words of God".⁶⁰

The theory that the writers' personalities were used in the composition of the Bible is also described in Gray's article. He quoted Henry B. Smith: "God speaks through personality as well as the lips of His messengers", and defined the term 'personality' as "the age in which the person lived, his environment, his degree of culture, his temperament and all the rest".⁶¹ By addressing another quotation by Wayland Hoyt, "inspiration is not a mechanical, crass, bald compulsion of the sacred writers, but rather a dynamic, divine influence over their freely-acting faculties", Gray confirmed once again that "God who created man as a free agent has left himself no opportunity to mould his thoughts into forms of speech inerrantly expressive of His will, without destroying that which He has made".⁶² In fact, these assertions are upheld by some internal biblical evidence. Park stated that the writers of 1 and 2 Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles consulted various literary and historical documents related to the subjects they were writing about.⁶³ Furthermore, examination of the background of the New Testament epistles and the time context of the early churches allows one to see that the Scriptures containing many historical and cultural predictions later witnessed by the apostles and later Christians. At the same time, Christ and his apostles' supreme exaltation of the Scriptures and that the idea God had put human writers under His supervision

⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 324-325.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 325.

⁶¹ James M. Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Hyung-ryong Park, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

provide the basis of the divine origin and infallibility ascribed to the Scriptures.⁶⁴ Hence, it is Park's argument that God assigned some duties to human writers, namely providing the 'personalities' or backgrounds of the various books. The attribution of human personality is a function of the Holy Spirit by whom the contents of the Bible were sanctioned. This view leads to a question about the guidance and approval on the part of the Holy Spirit. When Park spoke of the guidance of the Holy Spirit, did he mean that the Spirit was strictly controlling the thoughts of the biblical writers? If so, are we supposed to accept that every book referred to or cited in the Bible by the human writers was also inspired so it would be useful to the Holy Spirit? Or is it more correct to say that what is written in the Bible is sanctioned by the Holy Spirit as the revelation of God? To hold the former position is to consider the words of the Devil and the Greek poetry cited by the apostle Paul as inspired. On the other hand, the latter statement explains the inspiration of the Bible from the perspective that non-theistic elements are essential to the canon particularly for the purpose of the manifestation of God's revelation, although they are non-inspired writings themselves. Hence, Park was compelled to discuss the extent of the inspiration. I shall now relate his answers to this question.

Park rejected the theory that the *thoughts* of the biblical writers were inspired and that their written words were their own creative works, distinct from the guidance of the Spirit, since this theory attempts "to deny the plenary inspiration of the Bible".⁶⁵ Such a theory, Park said, can only be based on the idea that the thoughts occurred before the words and that the ideas could enter the writers' minds without the use of words. However, he believed that thought is not possible without words; when one thinks, one thinks in words. If the thoughts of the writers were inspired, then their words were correspondingly inspired.⁶⁶ Park's understanding of plenary verbal inspiration extended to the rejection of the above partial inspiration theory because it came dangerously close to a rationalistic i.e. non-divine approach

⁶⁴ Ibid., See also I. W. Munhall, op. cit., p. 27.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 326.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

to the Bible. He said that the partial-inspiration theory views only the doctrinal parts of the Bible as inspired because they contain fundamental truths which went beyond the writers' intelligences, whereas the historical parts of the Bible are less inspired because they contain non-fundamental truths (or even inaccurate knowledge).⁶⁷ In other words, he would not concede to confining inspiration to only the moral and spiritual elements of the Bible, while disqualifying the historical, chronological, archaeological, and scientific testimonies of the writers, since (according to plenary verbal inspiration theory) those documents are the human works, and hence lacked from the supervision by the Spirit. What bothers Park the most is this theory's subjective determination of partial inspiration. Some apply inspiration to doctrinal matters only, while others confine it to the New Testament, the teachings of Christ or the Sermon on the Mount. In his understanding such a variety of partial inspiration theory might have degraded God's words to merely human words. Since this theory depended largely on subjective decisions, Park argued that the inspiration of Scripture would likewise be "defined by the sympathy of higher criticism and individual's opinion".⁶⁸

Following the views of the writers of *The Fundamentals*, Park stated that plenary verbal inspiration was a sound Christian doctrine which secured the Bible's inerrancy.⁶⁹ This theory understands that inspiration extends to every word of the canonical books.⁷⁰ Gray argued that "the inspiration includes not only all the books of the Bible in general but in detail, the form as well as the substance, the word as well as the thought".⁷¹ He warned against those who might view this as an attempt

⁶⁷ Ibid. p. 327.

⁶⁸ Ibid. p. 328.

⁶⁹ According to Harriet Harris, Charles Hodge's understanding of biblical infallibility differs from B. B. Warfield's. Starting from the axiom of biblical inspiration, Hodge believed in biblical infallibility theory. However, Warfield believed that inspiration should be proved by presenting evidence (Harriet Harris, *Fundamentalism and Evangelicals*, op. cit., p. 138) and so when this evidence was fully comprehended could the Bible be shown to be inerrant. In this respect, both Park's and the writers' of *The Fundamentals* understandings of biblical inerrancy appear to be closer to Hodge's than to Warfield's.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ James M. Gray, op. cit., p. 13.

to degrade the writers to the level of machines. It is his understanding, as it later became Park's, that the Scriptures are neither the work of the writers alone nor were they divorced from the writers' personalities. The inspiration which he referred to here is definitely different from that of other popular writers in terms of the Spirit's involvement in biblical writers' work. It follows the procedure that God spoke to the writers and they recorded the words according to their personal characters, whilst the Spirit inspired them to witness to the words inerrantly.

While promoting 'plenary verbal inspiration' as the basis of the Scriptures' inerrancy, Park defined 'plenary inspiration' as "the act on the part of the Spirit upon the all parts of the Bible through the minds and volition of men, to make the Scriptures the word of God".⁷² Following this statement, he defined 'verbal inspiration' as divine inspiration of the thoughts and the words of the writers, which henceforth enabled God's revelation to be inerrantly manifested to humanity.⁷³ Giving emphasis to the phrase '*Pasa Graphe Theopneustos*', which he translated as 'every sacred writing', Park noted that the phrase conveys two concepts: firstly, that the Bible's testament of inspiration to 'all Scripture' signifies that every passage (not only moral and religious but also historical, scientific and geographical) of the Bible is inspired; and secondly, to say that inspiration was extended to all Scripture implies that 'every word' of the Bible is inspired.⁷⁴

His assertion was based on the idea that none of the elements in the Scriptures could be regarded as the product of inspiration if words were mis-chosen and misplaced. Gray held the same view: "The Bible plainly teaches that inspiration extends to its words".⁷⁵ His statement is supported by Jesus' affirmation of indestructibility of the law, both in substance and in form. The Scriptural understanding of 'one jot or tittle shall in no wise pass from the law' played an important role in Gray's adherence to the verbal inspiration. Munhall also followed this view of the Bible's

⁷² Hyung-ryong Park, op. cit., p. 328.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 316-317.

⁷⁵ James M. Gray, op. cit., p. 25.

verbal inspiration and inerrancy.⁷⁶ The words of the Bible, he said, are God-breathed and thus inerrant. This view is seen in the uniformity of the Bible; all the OT prophets, Jesus, and all the NT apostles deliver the same testimony. This had been always assumed until the rise of biblical criticism. The faith of fundamentalists who were devoted to the passion and holiness of the Bible, was no problem since they found no discrepancy between historical and scientific documents and biblical statements. Against the contradictions between the Bible and some scientific discoveries, Gray stated that such 'discrepancies' resulted from false interpretations of the Scriptures and immature conclusions of science.⁷⁷ He tried to explain all the natural phenomena described in the Bible as 'fact' which scientists could prove. However, the phenomena in the Bible which scientists believe to be 'natural disorder' could be understood as supernatural work by God.

In regard to the Bible's inerrancy, Park clearly stated that "the fact that the Bible is inspired proves the inerrancy of the Bible".⁷⁸ Since, according to Park, the biblical evidence proves the operation of plenary verbal inspiration, it is obvious that the contents of the sacred writings were inerrant. Following Gray and Munhall, Park did not accept the theory of biblical errancy. He recognised certain difficulties with the Bible, but did not admit any possibility of verified errancy.⁷⁹ In reaction to the modern scientific understandings of biblical errors, he argued that the Bible's descriptions of natural phenomena are not intended to be scientific explanations, but common, poetic, and impressive expressions. It is his recognition that the Bible is written in the level of common people and, thus, we find many scenes in the Bible expressed in popular language rather than in abstract narration and scientific explanation. For instance, considering Genesis 24:63, when Isaac went out to the field one evening to meditate, Park explained that the phrase 'one evening' was not a scientific term but a common idiom which was familiar to the common people of

⁷⁶ I.W. Munhall, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

⁷⁷ James M. Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

⁷⁸ Hyung-ryong Park, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 349.

that time.⁸⁰ On the other hand, he affirmed that the biblical descriptions of natural phenomenon are never discordant with the understandings of natural science. Although the biblical writers had possessed infantile knowledge of science, Park believed that they had not been mistaken when describing nature. The fact that Moses included Egyptians beliefs, such as the intelligence of the sun and the stars' control of human destiny, convinced Park that the Bible was written under the supervision of the Spirit.⁸¹ Following Munhall, Park believed in the consistency and unity of the narratives of the Bible. However, there are some differences in the narratives themselves, and this leads some theologians to regard the Bible as a product of humans rather than of divine inspiration. To counter this, Park argued that narrative inconsistencies were a result of rough estimate of numbers and descriptions which were selected by each writer under the guidance of the Spirit. Despite the differences in words and phrases, he said, the contents never contradict one another and the implications of the contents never fail to convey God's original intention. To verify his assertion Park referred to Numbers 25:9, which reads: "but those who died in the plague numbered 24,000" and I Corinthians 10:8 which records the number of dead as 23,000. Park suggested two possible reasons for this difference: firstly, one or both of the writers could have given a rough figure of the actual number of dead and, secondly, the former writer might have counted the total number of dead whereas the latter writer referred to only those who died 'in one day'.⁸²

Park's explanations marked a strong point in the history of the theory of biblical inerrancy. He followed the beliefs of Gray and Munhall, and their theological principles governed his attitude to the doctrine of biblical inerrancy. He was never hesitant in identifying 'plenary verbal inspiration' and 'biblical inerrancy' as sound Christian doctrine. Even when he did not understand passages of the Bible, he did not blame possible 'errors' in the Bible but thought that many of

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 351.

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 352.

⁸² Ibid., p. 358.

the difficulties in the Bible could be resolved by further theological research. Park, thus, understood that regarding the difficulties of the Scriptures as simply errors destroys the genuineness of God's word. Liberals' skepticism about biblical inerrancy, to Park, trusts more on general scholarship and its outcomes rather than on the internal evidence of the Bible. His conclusion is very clear: the Bible is the revelation of God, written by the hands of human authors under the supervision of the Holy Spirit. Thus, the Bible alone is inspired and inerrant.

So far, we have seen that Park, following the writers of *The Fundamentals*, believed that as if the doctrine of biblical inerrancy was the part of orthodox Christian tradition. However, a question in relation to this particular doctrine is whether Park and the writers of *The Fundamentals* were correct in this belief. There has been debate, as discussed earlier, among American scholars whether this doctrine is a continuation of an earlier Christian tradition (specifically the Calvinist tradition) or an innovation by Old Princeton theologians. I concluded, relying on Marsden, Harris and other scholars in this field, that this doctrine departed from the Calvinist tradition.

As seen above, Park grounded the doctrine of biblical inerrancy on biblical inspiration. Along with the writers of *The Fundamentals*, Park believed that every word of the canonical book is inspired. Park's argument that the differences in words and phrases between the narratives do not imply errancy but result from the writers' choices (under the guidance of the Holy Spirit), shows that he had no doubt about the Bible being entirely inerrant. This implies that, to Park, that the Bible is inerrant on scientific, historical, geographical and other matters. However, I have argued somewhat in earlier section that Calvin did not use the term 'inerrancy' to explain the authority of the Bible. It is not appropriate to widen this study here to make a more detailed consideration of Calvin's understanding of biblical authority. However, briefly, Calvin made statements in his commentary on Romans which appear to be contrary to any theory of literal dictation.⁸³ In the Geneva Catechism

⁸³ John H. Leith, op. cit., p. 59.

of 1545, Calvin stated that the word of God can be found in the Holy Scriptures, which contains it.⁸⁴ This statement suggests that Calvin understood that the Bible conveys the word of God rather than that everything in the Bible is inerrant.

A further difference between Calvin and Park is that Calvin admitted the biblical writers' scant scientific knowledge whereas Park did not. Calvin warned against using the Bible as a science text since some of the descriptions of scientific knowledge in the Bible were written from the perspective of contemporary ordinary people. Hence Calvin acknowledged that more sophisticated scientific work could enhance the Bible's scientific statements.⁸⁵ In contrast, Park believed that the biblical writers' poor scientific knowledge did not discord with modern science, and so was inerrant.

There is no doubt that Calvin understood Scripture to be the word of God, as witnessed by the Holy Spirit. However, it is difficult to say that this belief verifies the doctrine of biblical inerrancy. Rather, Calvin seemed to have concentrated on the authority of the Bible and on demonstrating its usefulness in helping Christians know God and His saving grace. Hence, both Park and the writers of *The Fundamentals* went too far in their assertions that the doctrine of biblical inerrancy is part of Calvinism or the broader Christian tradition.

2.2.3. The Doctrine of the Virgin Birth of Jesus Christ

The second doctrine which Park held as an essential faith of the church is the virgin birth of Christ. Strong adherence to this doctrine is a reaction to some liberal scholars' skepticism about the deity of Christ, since the denial of Jesus' virgin birth challenged the traditional view of Jesus' divine transcendence. Following James Orr, who was a professor of the United Free Church College and who also contributed to *The Fundamentals*, Park saw the rejection of the virgin birth as the

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 58.

⁸⁵ Ibid., pp. 59-60. See also John Calvin, *Corpus Reformatorum* 23:22; 31:806; 45:82; 49:429.

unhappiest feature of the modern church.⁸⁶ Orr and Park agreed that the narratives of Jesus' virgin birth in Matthew and Luke were clearly included in hundreds of manuscripts written in different languages, such as Latin, Syriac, and Egyptian.⁸⁷ They explained that the Ebionites' denial of Christ's deity and virgin birth resulted from their mutilated and incompleted adoption of Matthew's gospel. The genuine gospel, Orr claimed, always contains the nativity. Following Orr's assertion, Park criticised the canon of Marcion (which disregarded the first two chapters of Luke's gospel) as an attempt to reduce the documented fact of the virgin birth of Christ to some sort of fiction.⁸⁸

Park also responded to the question 'why are Mark and John silent about the nativity?' The synoptic gospels all bear accounts of Jesus' life, ministry and death. Mark's gospel is no exception since it contains various incidents and discourses which are described in the other gospels. However, it fails to record Jesus' virgin birth. Concerning this matter, Park stated that there is no serious conflict between the gospels when we consider the baptism of John as the beginning of the apostles' narrative and the ascension of Christ as its end.⁸⁹ Since Mark's gospel contains what other gospel writers claim to be important and what Luke describes in Acts 1:21-22, Park maintained that Mark's gospel is still invaluable in itself, regardless of the absence of the nativity. On the other hand, Park believed that the silence about the nativity in Mark's gospel does not signify that Matthew and Luke's gospels contain an invented (i.e. it never happened) nativity. It is not strange to Park that Matthew and Luke referred to other events as well as the events referred to by the other apostles.

Park also explained why the silence of the nativity in John's gospel does not affect Matthew's and Luke's words about Christ's virgin birth. He assumed that John's gospel primarily focused on Jesus being the Son of God rather than how he

⁸⁶ Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. VIII*, op. cit., p. 68. See also James Orr, "The Virgin Birth of Christ" in *The Fundamentals*, Vol. I, New York & London: Garland Publishing, 1988, p. 7.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 69. See also James Orr, op. cit., p. 14.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 70.

came into existence. Park knew that John had been aware of the early church traditions and that he was familiar with the Matthew and Luke's narration of Jesus' virgin birth. This is also what Orr had in mind when he said "Both Mark and John knew that Jesus had a human birth—an infancy and early life—and that his mother was called Mary, but of deliberate purpose they tell us nothing about it".⁹⁰ Both Orr and Park believed that the absence of an account of Jesus' virgin birth in the other gospels is due to the special purpose of these gospels. It was not, in their understandings, that Mark and John were ignorant of Jesus' virgin birth or that they were denying the fact that Jesus was conceived from the Holy Spirit. Rather, they were assured that Mark's approach to his gospel namely, the concept of 'the Son of God') and John's approach ('the divinity of Christ') demonstrate both writers' recognition of Jesus' deity and his virgin birth.

It has been also argued by liberal scholars that other parts of the NT, especially Paul's epistles, are silent about the nativity. Moreover, it has been suggested that certain passages in the NT contradict the doctrine of the virgin birth of Christ. How are we supposed to understand the gospels' claim of Jesus as 'the son of Joseph' and 'the son of David?' Why is it that Acts and Paul and Peter's epistles do not contain narratives of the virgin birth of Christ? From these questions one can argue that the gospel writers have documented Jesus' genealogy, concentrating on the idea that Joseph was Jesus' actual father. Modern critics' attempts to question the virgin birth of Christ (such as Paul Lobstein, Adolf Harnack and Frederick C. Conybeare) are rooted in their skepticism about the supernatural birth of Jesus through the Holy Spirit. It is unreasonable to them that a human was born of a virgin.

These arguments of modern critics challenged Park, whose disgust with liberal's attempts to produce a human Jesus turned his attention toward Christ's divinity. Park's defence of his belief in Christ's virgin birth was based on his understanding of Jesus' cultural and social background. Firstly, Park explained that there are passages, such as Matthew 13:55, Luke 4:22, John 1:45, and 6:42, in

⁹⁰ James Orr, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

which Joseph and Mary are described as Jesus' parents. However, he continued "it is very natural for the people of Nazareth, Bethsaida and Capernaum to have regarded Jesus as the son of Joseph and Mary since they were not aware of the miraculous birth of Jesus".⁹¹ They are not the only ones, he said, since Luke and Mary also understood Joseph to be Jesus' father. Luke describes Joseph and Mary as Jesus' parents (Lk. 2:27, 33, 41, 43). Mary also said to Jesus on the day of the Feast of the Passover that "your father and I have been anxiously searching for you" (Lk. 2:48). It is modern liberals' argument that these passages are contrary to the traditional doctrine of Jesus' virgin birth. Against these assertions, Park said that such expressions do not constitute a denial of Jesus' virgin birth. He understood that it was natural for the child Jesus to call Joseph his 'father', since he was brought up in Joseph and Mary's family. It is, then, common sense to Park that the people around Jesus perceived Joseph as Jesus' father.

Park proceeded on the assumption that only a small number of people were aware of the miraculous conception of the Messiah through the power of the Holy Spirit. He supposed that Luke's use of this idea was to emphasise the harmony of God's salvation plan through Joseph's obedience. Park came to the conclusion that Joseph consented to God's scheme and that, as described by Matthew and Luke, the miraculous birth of Jesus reflected the supernatural work on the part of God. Park also believed that the gospel writers' records of Jesus' virgin birth are authentic, since their beliefs of Jesus' sinlessness and his divine role of chief priest verify that Jesus was a God-incarnated person.⁹²

Another argument which Park brought up against the liberal's assertion is on the subject of genealogy. He stated that the Matthew's record of Jesus' genealogy from the line of Joseph does not signify that Joseph was his actual father.⁹³ He wrote "the gospel writers, who had understood both the significance of genealogy and offspring, knew that there was no conflict between the virgin birth of Jesus and

⁹¹ Hyung-ryong Park, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

⁹² Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. IV*, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

⁹³ Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. VIII*, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

his genealogy".⁹⁴ While Park acknowledged that Matthew's intention of recording the genealogy of Jesus was to prove that he was legally recognised as a son of Joseph, he referred to passages such as Matthew 1:16 and Luke 3:23 to witness the non-blood relationship between Jesus and Joseph. The former passage, which reads "and Jacob the father of Joseph, the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus, who is called Jesus" (NIV), and the latter passage, which reads "He was the son, so it was thought, of Joseph", convinced Park that the gospel writers intended to avoid any mention of Joseph being Jesus' actual father. He took the view that the virgin birth of Jesus is authentic since the Mt. Sinai Syriac manuscripts and the Greek manuscripts (written between the 12th and 14th centuries) recorded Mary to be virgin, while Jesus' genealogy was intended to show that Jesus is from the line of king David. Park's emphasis on Jesus' kingly heritage seems have been derived from the idea that not only was Joseph a descendant of David but also that Mary was from David's line. The probability of Mary's descent from the line of David is open to serious challenge. The assumption appears to be that the Old Testament passages, such as II Samuel 7:12-16, Psalm 89:29, and Isaiah 9:7, prophesy Jesus' birth from David's lineage. When we perceive that Jesus had no blood relationship with Joseph, although Joseph was known as his legal father and a descendant of David, we may presume that Park was attempting to give more value to the idea that Mary, through whose body Jesus was born, was also a descendant of David. This is the point which strengthens his argument about the doctrine of Jesus' virgin birth. He found more accurate proof of Jesus' virgin birth through his direct relationship with Mary rather than that with Joseph. Although Luke claimed that Joseph was the descendant of David (2:4), Park said the fact that the angel appeared not to Joseph but to Mary, when it said to her "... The Lord God will give him the throne of his father David" (1:32, NIV), proves that Mary was descended from the line of David.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Ibid., pp. 72-73.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 73.

In dealing with Paul's silence about Jesus' virgin birth, Park assumed, that Paul knew about it. This led him to seek how Paul got acquainted with such knowledge, since he was not Jesus' direct disciple. Orr and Park both said that the primary purpose of Paul's epistles was to proclaim the death and resurrection of Jesus rather than his virgin birth. Orr presumed that the virgin birth of Christ was known among the innermost Christian circles. However, he maintained that the details of the nativity were not fully understood by the community until the gospels of Matthew and Luke were published. Paul based his preaching on "the broad, public facts of Christ's ministry, death, and resurrection".⁹⁶ Orr further noted "it would be going too far, however, to infer from this that Paul had no knowledge of the miracle of Christ's birth".⁹⁷ The same idea was demonstrated in Park's statement "the uniqueness of the Pauline epistles lay in the fact that ... he intentionally excluded the virgin birth of Christ in order to avoid restating facts already known to the community. The consistency of the Pauline epistles is found in their testimony of the death and resurrection of Christ. The Pauline epistles did not intend to base the core of the gospel on the private matter of Christ".⁹⁸

Both Orr and Park maintained that Luke, who was Paul's companion, during most of his mission, told Paul about Jesus' virgin birth.⁹⁹ Orr quoted some of the passages from the Pauline epistles which he believed to verify the supernatural birth of Christ. The phrases to which he referred are Christ 'being in very nature God... emptied himself' (Phil. 2:7, 8), 'born of a woman, born under law (Gal. 4:4), and 'had no sin' (2 Cor. 5:21).¹⁰⁰ His basic assumption is that the parallelism of the gospels and the Pauline epistles point to authenticity of the nativity. When dealing with the divine personality of Christ, Orr was rather more inclined to emphasise Christ's sinlessness, since the divine personality of Christ is derived from Jesus' virgin mother and conception from the Holy Spirit. The reason for this greater

⁹⁶ James Orr, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ Hyung-ryong Park, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* See also James Orr, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

¹⁰⁰ James Orr, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

willingness to accept Jesus' virgin birth is because "the birth of Jesus was not, as in ordinary births, the creation of a new personality".¹⁰¹ He stated that Jesus was a divine person who has been already existing in the form of Triune God, and only entering into a new form of existence. Jesus' miraculous birth, he said, is the sign of his holiness and divinity, because no natural process could possibly give rise to a sinless personality. Referring to Romans 5:12-21, in which Jesus is described as the Saviour of the whole humanity as against the first person, Adam, and Galatians 4:4 which reads "when the time had fully come, God sent his Son, born of a woman, born under law", Park said that Paul demonstrated his knowledge about the virgin birth of Christ in his epistles. Park's consent to Orr's main interest in Paul's recognition of the nativity is described in the following phrase "according to Orr, Romans 1:3-4 and Luke 1:35 seem to have special correlation", in terms of Christ's deity as the Son of God.¹⁰²

The next theological issue was 'the Immanuel Prophecy'. A study of the Immanuel prophecy, which was carried out by David Friedrich Strauss whilst seeking the origin of the gospel accounts from the OT, proposed that the messianic hope of the Jews, such as sublime dignity and brilliant ministry of the Messiah-to-be produced the story of virgin birth of Christ. Park is discontent with Strauss' idea that the virgin birth was merely a myth. He believed that Strauss' attempt to reduce Jesus' virgin birth to a mythical account was derived from the view that Jewish messianic expectations were influenced by Isaiah 7:14. Park said that: 1) there is no reason to view that the Jews applied the prophecy of Isaiah 7:14 into their own concept of Messiah; 2) In Isaiah's prophecy, the Hebrew word 'צִלְמָה' (which is translated as 'virgin' in KJV, NIV and RSV) does not indicate a woman who does not know man, but means a woman who is at the age of marriage; 3) For Jews it is unthinkable that a 'virgin' woman could conceive and give birth to a baby, 4) Luke's account of the virgin birth conveys no implication of a relationship with

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Hyung-ryong Park, op. cit., p. 75.

Isaiah 7:14 or any other prophetic passage, and 5) although certain Christians, who read Isaiah 7:14, might question whether or not this passage indicates the virgin birth of Christ, they would not be compelled to speak of Jesus' virgin birth.¹⁰³

Park defended his position by claiming the fairness of Matthew's citation of Isaiah's prophecy. The reason is because "although the Jews neither found nor recognised the birth of Messiah from this prophecy [Isa. 7:14], the gospel writer, Matthew, undoubtedly recognised it as the indication of Christ's birth, after discerning the sequence of its story in detail".¹⁰⁴ Park agreed with many great Hebrew scholars in translating the Hebrew word "צַחֲלֵמָה" as 'woman of a married age' rather than 'virgin'. He preferred "בְּתוּלָה" as an appropriate Hebrew term for 'virgin' as used in Joel 1:8. However, he also maintained that "צַחֲלֵמָה" was occasionally used in the OT to denote 'virgin'. It cannot be assumed, therefore, that the term "צַחֲלֵמָה" in Isaiah 7:14 clearly indicates either 'virgin' or 'unmarried woman'. Park affirmed that no single passage in Scripture uses the word "צַחֲלֵמָה" to imply a 'married woman'.¹⁰⁵

Orr maintained similar ideas when he stated "it is pointed out in objection that the term rendered 'virgin' in Isaiah does not necessarily bear this meaning; it denotes properly only a young unmarried woman. The context, however, seems clearly to lay an emphasis on the unmarried state, and the translators of the Greek version of the Old Testament (the Septuagint) plainly so understood it when they rendered it by *parthenos*, a word which *does* mean 'virgin'".¹⁰⁶ His statement is supported by the fact that the term "צַחֲלֵמָה" is translated as *παρθένος* in Septuagint. In the OT (Gen. 24:16, Jdg. 21:12, Jer. 31:13, La. 1:4, 18, 2:10, 21) we find the word "בְּתוּלָה" used in most cases as to imply 'virgin' in the literal sense. A correspondent Greek word for "בְּתוּלָה" ('virgin') is *παρθένος*, whereas *νεάνις* is an equivalent Greek term for "צַחֲלֵמָה". Interestingly, however, the word "צַחֲלֵמָה" in

¹⁰³ Hyung-ryong Park, op. cit., pp. 75-76.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 76.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ James Orr, op. cit., p. 12.

Isaiah 7:14 is translated as παρθένος rather than νεάνις in the Septuagint, which seems to verify that the early Jewish scholars (B.C. 2-3) perceived of Isaiah's prophecy as an indication of Jesus' virgin birth. Both Orr and Park thought that the Septuagint was an edition in which Isaiah's prediction was properly recorded. In connection with Isaiah 7:14, they viewed Isaiah 9:6-7 as a description of the highest glory and authority of the Immanuel, fulfilled in the actualisation of Jesus' virgin birth as cited in Matthew 1:23 and Luke 1:32-33. They paid no significant attention to the theory which gave no considerable weight to the OT background in discussing the life of Christ.

Park also discussed Paul Lobstein's theory that Jesus' virgin birth was a myth. Firstly, Park dealt with the view that the virgin birth was a product of the Jews' mythical beliefs. Lobstein understood that in Jewish thought, the birth of a child depended on God's covenant. From this religious belief, Lobstein thought, the concept of virgin birth was developed. Park's argument was that the strict monotheistic minds of the Jews shaped their transcendent understanding of God and spontaneously led them to avoid any possibility that God had intervened personally in Jesus' delivery.¹⁰⁷ Park further pointed out Lobstein's dualistic point of view on the origin of the virgin birth: on the one hand, as the result of a popular thought of the Jews and, on the other hand, as an inevitable result of religious mood, or a reverberation of the experience of Christians. Orr also had rejected such a view, regarding it as baseless speculation: "The newest of the theories seeks an origin of the belief in ancient Babylon, and supposes the Jews to have possessed the notion in pre-Christian times. This is not only opposed to all real evidence, but is the giving up of the contention that the idea had its origin in *late* Christian circles, and was unknown to earlier apostles".¹⁰⁸

The view that the nativity contains elements of asceticism, because it corresponds to the thought of the Essenes, was also rejected by Park for the lack of

¹⁰⁷ Hyung-ryong Park, op. cit., p. 77.

¹⁰⁸ James Orr, op. cit., p. 19.

internal evidence. Between B. C. 150 and A. D. 70 the Essene community was actively following on eschatological faith along with a strict code of regulations and practice. In order to live up to the teachings of the law and to maintain purity in flesh, the community lived a secluded life. In the time of the early church, some Christians in Jerusalem, indeed, lived a similar communal life (Acts 4:32), and had high regard for the Essenes' strictly organised form of life (Matt. 10:11-13; 7:7). Nonetheless, there seems no clear internal or external evidences that which verify the assumption that the nativity was derived from the Essene teachings.

Other theories, which find the origin of virgin birth from Philo's fables and chapter 12 of Revelation, do not provide Park with sufficient explanations. He argued that no single trace of Philo's fables can be found in Matthew and Luke's gospels, and as the Book of Revelation is later than the gospels chronologically, the virgin birth could never have been derived from the book of Revelation.¹⁰⁹ Could it possibly be that the nativity was developed with the outbreak of Paul's metaphysical thought or with Matthew and Luke's attempts to document the oral tradition? Park stated "The structure and the thought of the narratives [the nativity in the gospels] are so simple that there is no proof that they were influenced by Paul and John".¹¹⁰ One reason for this is that Luke's vocabulary and language expressions reflect the early Christian society and its culture, and thus provide clues that the narratives of the virgin birth were recorded very early. The major questions followed by Park in regards to the theory of the mythical origin of the virgin birth are as follows: "Could it be possible that a 'myth' was developed among the Jews within twenty-five or thirty years after the death of Christ? Could it be possible that most of the apostles who lived in Jerusalem were not aware of the sudden rise of this myth? Even if the date of the rise of myth was around the time of Paul, it is unlikely that the church would have accepted that myth imprudently, since it involved the matter of honour of Mary and of the testimonies of the apostles and

¹⁰⁹ Hyung-ryong Park, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

Jesus' relatives".¹¹¹ Similarly, Orr had defended his faith against suggestions that the nativity was mere fables, inventions, and legends. He stated that "the narratives of the nativity in Matthew and Luke are undoubtedly *genuine parts* of their respective Gospels. They have been there since ever the Gospels themselves had an existence".¹¹² The unique approach to the nativity of each gospel does not bother Orr, since it does not indicate contradiction, but independence and complementarity. He explained "both together are needed to give the whole story. They bear in themselves the stamp of truth, honesty, and purity, and are worthy of all acceptance, as they were evidently held to be in the early church".¹¹³

Park discussed the validity of the virgin birth by proving how the universal church had embraced and respected this doctrine a part of Christianity. The Apostle's Creed and the Confession of Baptism are witnesses to the authenticity of the virgin birth. After these come Ignatius' work (A. D. 110), Aristides' (A. D. 125) and Justin's (around second century) apologetics. The later church fathers, such as Irenaeus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen are additional support for the doctrine of virgin birth.¹¹⁴

Park believed that the sinlessness of Christ was an essential aspect of the virgin birth of Christ. The critic's idea that the virgin birth would not verify the sinlessness of Christ, since he was still born of a human mother and hence inherited sin, made Park bring the work of the Holy Spirit into the discussion. The intervention of the Holy Spirit in the birth of Christ, which is scientifically unverifiable, is said to be the major factor which verifies the purity and sinlessness of Christ. In order to assure the miracle birth of Christ, Park said, it was necessary to avoid any physical contact between Mary and men.¹¹⁵ The following statement of Park's personal confession explains his belief in intimate relationship between the virgin birth and Jesus' dignity: "Only when we claim Jesus as the second Adam and a creative

¹¹¹ Ibid., pp. 78-79.

¹¹² James Orr, op. cit., p. 14.

¹¹³ Ibid., p. 16.

¹¹⁴ Hyung-ryong Park, op. cit., p. 80.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 82.

beginning which breaks new ground for humanity may we reach the second stage of genuine understanding of Jesus' dignity. As a man of integrity, Christ is above anyone else, positioned with high and noble authority, and has marked an epoch. He is a perfect person who has fulfilled more than enough. He was the highest of humanity whose birth could never been caused by the power of nature".¹¹⁶

2.2.4. The Doctrine of Christ's Death as a Substitutionary Atonement

The third distinctive doctrine of Korean fundamentalism deals with what is known among the traditional churches as the primary work of Christ's earthly ministry. Focusing on the witnesses of the gospel writers, Park defined atonement as follows: "Christ of the supernatural dignity became the Saviour of all by redeeming them from their sins and dying on the cross on behalf of all sinners. The atonement of Christ is the heart of the thought and life of Christianity. Although man committed sin against God and so was condemned to eternal punishment, God showed his love and mercy towards sinners and appointed Jesus Christ as the mediator who would suffer the condemnation on behalf of the sinners through his obedience, to fulfill eternal salvation for the humanity. This so-called 'penal substitutionary doctrine' has been known to the church as the doctrine of atonement".¹¹⁷ The impression we get from this definition is that Park viewed the salvation of humanity as being related to the substitutionary atonement of Christ. His portrayal of Jesus' sacrificial death as the centre of Jesus' whole ministry recalls the statement of Franklin Johnson, one of the writers who contributed articles to *The Fundamentals* under the title "The Atonement": "The Christian world as a whole believes in a substitutionary atonement... All the great historic creeds which set forth the atonement at any length set forth a substitutionary atonement. All the great

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. 83. See also James Orr, op. cit., p.p. 19-20.

¹¹⁷ Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. XII*, op. cit., p. 178.

historic systems of theology enshrine it as the very Ark of the Covenant, the central object of the Holy of Holies".¹¹⁸

Park's understanding of the atonement in Christ's death is seen in his references to the individual's spiritual salvation. According to Park, God planned salvation for each sinner and then proceeded His plan through Christ's obedience to the law and his death on the cross. Park maintained that salvation occurs only when the Holy Spirit motivates a sinner to respond with faith to the grace of God. The purpose of this salvation is not only to deliver the soul of the individual from the corrupt world but also to free the soul from eternal condemnation.¹¹⁹ Hence Park found difficulty with the fact that the liberal theologians (such as Horace Bushnell, F. W. Robertson and John McLeod Campbell) focused more on the humanitarian death of Jesus than on his sacrificial death. Park believed that while liberal theologians' theories about the doctrine of atonement were inconsistent with each other in form, they were similar in essence in that they denied the substitutionary aspect of the atonement. Park rejected their denials of the substitutionary atonement of Christ. The first objection he raised was against the 'Moral Influence Theory' which viewed Jesus' death as setting an example of humanitarian love. In addition to this, he criticised fervently those who viewed the atonement as 'becoming one', i.e. humanity's unification with God. Park commented "these theories are invented by those who do not recognise the reality of man's sin".¹²⁰ Park believed that the absence of the concept of Christ's substitutionary death in the moral influence theory contradicted the teachings of the Bible. It was unthinkable to him that Jesus' death merely admonished and encouraged people to embrace ethical life styles. He argued that the significance of Jesus' death lies not only in his guidance to God's Kingdom, but, more importantly, lies in his blood by which sinners are able to gain entry to God's Kingdom.

¹¹⁸ Franklin Johnson, *The Fundamentals*, Vol. VI, op. cit., p. 50.

¹¹⁹ Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. VIII*, op. cit., pp. 107-108.

¹²⁰ Ibid., p. 108.

Whilst discussing 'The Example Theory' which was proposed by Lelius and Faustus Socinus in the sixteenth century and by Unitarians in his times, Park attempted to explore the fundamentalist position by pointing out the negative aspects and inconsistencies of this theory. Socinus believed Jesus' death was a sublime sheer death which was essentially devoted to truth and responsibility. His death is only validated when it leads to the authority of morality. Socinus further indicated that the Christian's understanding of soteriology, in the perspective of a substitutionary atonement, was invented by Christ's disciples who applied Hellenistic and Jewish concepts of sacrifice to the concept of Christ's humanitarian death. Against these assertions, Park argued that the Bible claims that the purpose of Christ' death is not impressive exemplary sacrifice. It was logical to him that the value of Christ's death should be found first in its power to remove one's guilt and, then, in its essential role of leading people into ethical lifestyles.¹²¹ It did not make sense to Park that people could follow the humanitarian life of Christ's ethical lifestyle without having their sins removed first by his substitutionary death. The major point he raised here was that the biblical testimony is of Christ's death being substitutionary atonement. He argued this by noting original sin and Christ's undergoing the punishment which man would otherwise have faced. Park believed that Christ's substitutionary death fulfilled the law and prophecy and that that Jesus only underwent this punishment but that sinners' moral depravity was not transmitted to Jesus.¹²²

Park's extensive discussion about 'The Moral Influence Theory' gives further indication of why he insisted that Christ's death was substitutionary. The Moral Influence Theory was initiated by Abelard in the 12th century and later by F. W. Robertson and Horace Bushnell. This theory assumed that Christ's death was an expression of God's love which sympathise with the distress of man's sin. Bushnell understood that the atonement was an inevitable occurrence for Jesus since he

¹²¹ Ibid., p. 109. See also Park's volume IV, pp. 378-379.

¹²² Ibid., p. 112.

possessed human nature. Thus, his suffering and death do not signify a substitutionary punishment, but an experience of life's difficulties and grief. Hence, in this theory, Jesus' work was no more than God's attempt to challenge humans to live ethical lives. This implies that Jesus' atonement is insignificant with respect to salvation. According to Johnson, the Moral Influence Theory stated that "the sole mission of Christ was to reveal the love of God in a way so moving as to melt the heart and induce men to forsake sin".¹²³ Johnson's problem with the Moral Influence Theory lies with one simply counting Jesus' ministry as only demonstrating the love of God and so ignoring the doctrine of substitutionary atonement which was to reach and save lost souls. The moral influence theory interpreted Christ's substitutionary atonement from the perspective of jurisprudence. This theory does not hold that Jesus took the blame on behalf of the sins of the humanity. This idea comes from the belief that punishment should not be transferred from a guilty person to an innocent one; Christ's suffering need not be understood as punishment. The theory also argues that the guilty person remains guilty no matter who is actually punished. Now, according to Moral Influence Theory, substitution is immoral. It would be immoral if Christ suffered in order that guilty humanity might escape from the sufferings it deserved. Seen from a legal perspective, releasing a guilty party unpunished is an act of immorality. The question which rises here, then, is whether the legal concept of substitution should be applied as well to a religious context.

Johnson and Park presumed the superiority of the virtue of God over legal theory. Johnson stated that if Christ acted immorally by suffering on behalf of sinful humanity, then "the constitution of the human race, ordained by God, is immoral, for, since its ties are those of sympathy and love, human beings are constantly suffering that others may escape sufferings richly deserved".¹²⁴ However, Johnson found no reason to regard Christ's sympathy and love as immoral. Since he believed

¹²³ Franklin Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 51. See also Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. IV*, *op. cit.*, pp. 373-374.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

that the doctrine of substitutionary atonement is the cause of morality, it is impossible for this doctrine to be immoral. Johnson described the Moral Influence Theory as far too narrowly circumscribed because it confines Christ's death to a spectacular effort to reveal God's love rather than being a sacrifice for man's salvation. He also rejected this theory because of its clash with Scripture. He believed the theme of the Bible is God's plan for the salvation of humanity. Referring to Scriptural passages, such as Romans 3:25, I John 2:2, I John 4:10, Hebrews 3:17, Johnson claimed that there were evidence of a substitutionary atonement. Nowhere in the Bible, did he find any evidence for the Moral Influence Theory. His belief in a substitutionary atonement is fairly described in the following statements "The grace of God was not fully revealed and explained till it was made manifest in the person and work of Christ, but it has always been the reigning principle of the divine government. Men are saved by grace since the death of Christ, and they have always been saved by grace when they have been saved at all".¹²⁵

In a similar way, Park explained the inadequacy of the Moral Influence Theory. In his thought, human moral depravity can not be transferred to Christ, but Christ can take the penalty.¹²⁶ A substitutionary atonement is God's way to show his mercy to humanity. To say that a substitutionary atonement is unnecessary because God's greatest love can forgive anyone who repents is unacceptable to Park. He wrote that a substitutionary atonement is God's precondition for forgiveness. God decides the method of redemption and, thus, human are compelled to follow His system. Park believed that God provided substitutionary atonement for humanity's salvation. Humans may repent their sins but the forgiveness of their sins is wholly dependent on Jesus' substitutionary atonement. Park further recognised that it is fair that sinless Jesus suffered on behalf of sinners, since no one else was qualified. Whilst condemning the Moral Influence Theory as unbiblical he

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 62.

¹²⁶ Hyung-ryong Park, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

claimed "the meaning of atonement is not fully described in God's love alone, but in the fulfillment of His justice. God's love would not be counted sufficient if we regard it as simply compassionate suffering. For compassion alone cannot be the foundational source to exempt sinners from the responsibility of their sin. The biblical understanding of Christ's suffering is restorative, propitiatory and penal. This is why man's consciousness should be restored by the sacrifice of Christ first and, then, be influenced by the moral aspect of Christ's suffering".¹²⁷

In his extensive discussion on the doctrine of vicarious atonement, Park focused his argument primarily on the doctrinal value of Christ's sacrificial death. To Park, the doctrine of atonement is profound and unfathomable in itself that human rationality and scientific knowledge cannot understand this doctrine without also having faith in the word of God. The moving cause of the atonement he found in the Bible passages (Isa. 53:10; Jn 3:16) is the will of God's pleasure for human salvation.¹²⁸ The atonement is motivated by the love of God, however, the main generator behind this love is God's pleasure for human salvation. For this reason, he warned the readers not to misinterpret II Corinthians 5:14 which reads "For Christ's love compels us, because we are convinced that one died for all, and therefore all died". He commented that this passage gives the impression that Christ's love is the cause of the atonement. In Park's understanding, Christ himself is the fruit of the will of God's pleasure. In other words, God did not love us because of Jesus' death, but Jesus died because of God's love. Christ's sacrifice was a consequence of God's love for sinners.¹²⁹

God's role in the atonement led Park to discuss the doctrine of the Trinity. He asserted that the cause of the atonement is not only found in one person but in three divine persons. He based his assertion upon the idea that the Father first designed the redemptive plan, the Son then acted out that plan, and the Holy Spirit later applied that plan to humanity. The question whether the will of God's pleasure is an

¹²⁷ Ibid., p. 109.

¹²⁸ Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. IV*, op. cit., p. 307.

¹²⁹ Ibid., p. 308.

autocratic expression of God's absolute sovereignty or an idea derived from the divine attributes of God was a major concern for Park. He took the view that "the will of God's pleasure, which aimed for the salvation of sinners, was rooted in the love and justice of God".¹³⁰ It was God's love which provided sinners the way out from the darkness. He identified God's justice as that which justifies those who have faith in Jesus (Rom. 3:26). Park continued discussing the intimate relationship between God's love and His justice. According to him, those two divine attributes of God are inseparable. If we seek the cause of the atonement only in God's justice, it would give the impression that God is too concerned with His own glory. On the other hand, emphasising only God's love might lead to Christ's suffering and death being simply regarded as an inexplicable fable. Therefore, the fact that the Father let the Son suffer and face death cannot be explained fully by the principle of love alone.

Park did not only mention God's love and justice, but also emphasised God's sovereignty in the work of the atonement. As a Calvinist, Park followed the doctrine of God's sovereignty. He viewed God's love as discriminative, because it is a predestined love particularly arranged for only the chosen people. The ultimate purpose of God's love, hence, lies in the idea that God's chosen people will receive salvation through the atonement of Christ. Such a statement can easily attract comment about the unfairness of divine will. However, Park's understanding of God's sovereignty is not tyranny or autocracy. Rather, his picture of God's sovereignty is drawn from His righteous act of redemption. This is to say that certain people are chosen by the sovereign will of God's pleasure to be His heirs. The purpose of determining the chosen people is wholly dependent on the will of His pleasure alone. Therefore, he stated "it is not the atonement which promoted the love of God, but His love was the source of the atonement through which His purpose was accomplished".¹³¹

¹³⁰ Ibid., p. 309.

¹³¹ Ibid., p. 311.

Another aspect of Park's understanding of the atonement is seen in his discussion of the OT perspective of sacrifice. According to the teachings of the Bible, animal sacrifice was performed by ancient Israelites as a substitute for human sacrifice. When an Israelite was approaching God the person had to lay his hand on the head of his offering and confess his sins (Lev. 1:4). God's intention was to forgive the Israelites' sins by transferring their sins to animals. This concept was also reflected in Lev. 16:20-22 which describes the function of scapegoat as a carrier of all the Israelite sins. Going further into the meaning of animal sacrifice, Park addressed the significance of the animal's blood. As written in Lev. 17:11, Park emphasised the blood of the offering as that which makes atonement for one's life. His interpretation of this passage is that Christ's blood is that which substitutes for the death of humanity. Dyson Hague,¹³² who contributed his article on "At-one-Ment by Propitiation" in *The Fundamentals*, also testified his strong belief in Christ's substitutionary atonement. Whilst discussing the importance of the atonement to Christianity, he employed the OT scriptures as the basis of his argument. He stated that the atonement consisted of the shedding of blood. Referring to Ex.12:5 and I Pet. 1:19, he explained that the blood was to be the blood of a victim and, hence, Jesus was to be acknowledged as a vicarious representative of the worshipper. We can clearly see that the doctrine of the original sin was crucial to both Hague and Park's understanding of the atonement. Unlike some liberal theologians who denied the doctrine of original sin, Hague and Park perceived the atonement as a 'proof' of man's original sin. Hague stated "the whole system [a substitutionary atonement of Christ] was designed to teach the holiness and righteousness of God, the sinfulness of men, and the guilt of sin; and, above, to show that it was God's will that forgiveness should be secured, not on account of any works of the sinner or anything that he could do, any act of repentance or exhibition of penitence, or performance of expiatory or restitutionary works, but

¹³² He was a vicar of the Church of the Epiphany, Tronto, Canada. He was also a professor of Liturgics at Wycliffe College in Toronto.

solely on account of the undeserved grace of God through the death of a victim guilty of no offence against the Divine law, whose shed blood represented the substitution of an innocent for a guilty life”¹³³.

Park’s argument for a substitutionary atonement is supported by his understanding of Greek prepositions used in the NT, such as, περί (by), ὑπέρ (for), and ἄντι (instead of; as a substitute). Park stated that the first two prepositions do not convey the meaning of a substitution as much as ἄντι. Whereas the meaning of the first two prepositions are determined by the context, ἄντι clearly expresses the biblical concept of the atonement. Park’s idea is that περί, and ὑπέρ are often used to indicate the ‘elimination of one’s sin’ (Rom. 8:3; Gal. 1:4; I Pet. 3:18; I Jn. 2:2, etc). However, ἄντι was used in relation with Christ’s ministry to denote accurately a ‘substitution’ (Matt. 20:28; Mk. 10:45; Jn. 1:29, 3:16, 10:11, 15:13). Therefore, Park described the atonement of Christ as not only a removing of one’s sin but also Jesus’ suffering of death in the place of human. The same idea was perceived by Hague when he said “to epitomize, then, the presentment of the Bible: The root of the idea of At-one-Ment is estrangement... Christ died because God loves. Propitiation does not awaken love; it is love that provides expiation. To cancel the curse, to lift the ban... Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and Son of Man, came into this world and offered up His Divine-human Person, body and soul”.¹³⁴

In summary, we have seen that Park supported the doctrine of substitutionary atonement against the liberal theologians’ explanation of Jesus’ death as simply exemplar of moral life. His strong adherence to the atonement of Christ, commencing with the will of God’s pleasure for the salvation of the chosen people, shows that he was an advocate of fundamentalism. In fact, following usual legal principles, the doctrine of a substitutionary atonement is impossible, since guilt cannot be transferred to an innocent party. Inflicting penalty on criminals is a legal method of retribution for what criminals have done. Actually, Park did not show

¹³³ Dyson Hague, “At-one-Ment by Propitiation” in *The Fundamentals*, Vol. XI, op. cit., p. 24.

¹³⁴ Ibid., p. 30.

method of retribution for what criminals have done. Actually, Park did not show any interest in comparing Christ's substitutionary atonement with human justice. His understanding of the atonement is not derived from God's tyrannical authority, but from His will to deliver sinners from eternal punishment by regenerating and sanctifying them.¹³⁵

2.2.5. The Doctrine of a Bodily Resurrection of Christ From the Dead

Although this doctrine has been heavily challenged by modern theological views, bodily resurrection has always been one of the unique and cardinal points of Christianity (the other is the doctrine of his virgin birth). Contrary to critics of this theory who seek scientific evidence (such as O. Holtzmann and Hohannes Weiss), Park was most concerned with the testimony of the evangelists and the apostles. The first issue he dealt with was the burial of Jesus' body. Some theologians have thought that Jesus' body was taken by what passed for 'garbage disposal' in Jerusalem. More specifically, Park said, the general opinion of modern critics is that Jesus' body was buried by Joseph of Arimathea. However, despite this consensus, some of them suspected that there is a conflict between the testimonies of evangelists. For instance, whereas Mark records that Pilate hesitated to hand over Jesus' body to Joseph (Mk. 15:43-45), both Matthew and Luke are silent about Pilate's psychological motions (Matt. 27:58; Luke 23:52). Moreover, Mark and Luke identify Joseph as a member of the Council (Mk. 15:43; Lk. 23:50) whereas Matthew and John describe him as a disciple of Jesus (Matt. 27:57; Jn. 19:38). Liberals also believed that when Joseph volunteered to bury Jesus' body, he was attempting to obey the divine command (Deut. 21:22-23) that when someone is put to death and their body is hung on a tree, the body must not be left on the tree overnight but must be buried on the day of execution.

¹³⁵ Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. XII*, op. cit., p. 182.

Opposed to these assertions, Park responded with his fundamentalist point of view. Firstly, he believed that information being given in only one or two gospels does not mean that there is a contradiction between the narratives of the gospels. Rather, he insisted, visions are the result of the respective authors' abbreviated note of some event. R. A. Torrey stated in his article "The Resurrection of Jesus Christ" in *The Fundamentals*, that the gospels are records of facts that actually occurred. His basic understanding of the genuineness of each gospel supplements Park's attempt to explain the gospel writers' individual ways of writing from their own perspectives. If the gospels were fictions, Torrey said, they must have been composed in one of two ways; either independently of one another, or in collusion with one another. His argument is that when we consider that there are both many agreements and many discrepancies between the gospels, we can conclude that they were neither written independently of one another nor in collusion with one another. Hence, none of the gospels is a made-up story, but all are "true relation of facts as they actually occurred".¹³⁶ Secondly, Park explained that even Mark and Luke identify Joseph as a disciple of Jesus (Mk. 15:43; Lk. 23:51) in that they describe him as a man who was "waiting for the Kingdom of God". Park assumed that Joseph would not have taken the risk of asking for Jesus' body if he was not closely involved with or personally related to Jesus. Thirdly, Park refuted the theory that since only Matthew's gospel contains the story about guarding the tomb securely, Matthew included untrue stories. Park believed that the teachings, miracles and other incidents which occurred in the week prior to the crucifixion caused the Roman authorities have the tomb guarded. Finally, against the critics' view conflict exists between the statement that the women went to the tomb early in the morning with spices and the statement that Joseph and Nicodemus used spices when they were wrapping Jesus' body with strips of linen, Park maintained that 'a mixture of myrrh and aloes' (Jn. 19:39-40) which Nicodemus brought was not necessarily to be identified with spices and, furthermore, what justified the act of women is that there

¹³⁶ R. A. Torrey, *The Fundamentals*, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 84.

was not enough time to spice Christ's body, since the Sabbath was about to begin.¹³⁷

There are many theories concerning the empty tomb which challenged both Torrey's and Park's points of view. The first theory with which Park chose to deal was the 'Faint Theory'. This theory is that Jesus' death on the cross was not a genuine, but was a temporary faint. It further claims that Jesus' body was placed in the tomb because no one was aware of his unconsciousness. Hence, when Jesus awoke, he simply walked out of the tomb. Park was not convinced at all by this theory because Jesus' side was pierced by a spear and a number of soldiers guarded the tomb, for which this theory cannot account. Moreover, this theory does not provide account for where Jesus went in the 40 days between his resurrection and ascension. Torrey had also discussed the faint theory. From the five essential points which Torrey suggested against the Faint theory, we may understand that Park had shared the same idea of which Torrey held as a fundamentalist faith. Torrey's arguments against the Faint Theory are 1) Jesus already suffered a number of physical agonies preceding the crucifixion. Also, the water and the blood which poured from his pierced side proves that he was dead, 2) Jesus' enemies took all necessary precautions against interference with the tomb (Jn. 19:34), 3). If Jesus had merely been resuscitated, he would have been so weak that his re-appearance would have been measured at its real value, and the moral changes in the disciples after Jesus' resurrection would remain inexplicable, 4) if Jesus had been resuscitated, his disciples, who are the ones who are supposed to have resuscitated him, and the moral change in themselves would remain accounted for, and 5) it is a matter of morality if Jesus was merely resuscitated. It was, for Torrey, impossible to believe that religion centered on Jesus Christ, involving moral principles and precepts of truth, is founded upon a deliberately planned fraud.¹³⁸

¹³⁷ Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. VIII*, op. cit., p. 86.

¹³⁸ R. A. Torrey, op. cit., p. 102.

The second theory was known as the 'Robbery Theory'. This theory is basically that Jesus' body was stolen by his disciples. Park rejected this theory for at least two reasons. Firstly, he assumed that there must have been a number of soldiers guarding the tomb and, so, it is unthinkable to conclude that all of them fell asleep at the same time. Secondly, he insisted that the disciples, full moral integrity, would never have based a gospel message upon false testimony, nor kept it as their own faith. In fact, the disciples preached the resurrection of Jesus when such actions risked their lives. Hence, it would be irrational for the disciples to take risk their lives for a falsehood.¹³⁹

The third theory is concerned with the removal of Jesus' body from one place to another. The main point of this theory is that Joseph of Arimathea had transferred Jesus' body from his tomb to another place. The scenario is as follows: Joseph allowed Jesus' body in his tomb at first, but he soon regretted this because he thought it was not appropriate to have a crucified body in his own tomb. Thus, after the Sabbath was over, he removed Jesus' body to an unknown place. Park condemned this theory as a simple conjecture. The strips of linen lying in the tomb and the cloth folded up by itself verify that Jesus was resurrected without his body being disturbed.¹⁴⁰

The fourth theory is that the tomb which the women visited was not exactly where Jesus' body was buried. It asserts that the women did not find Jesus' body since it was still night. According to this theory, the tomb the women visited was an unused empty tomb. Also it identifies the young man or men who appeared to the women as either an angel (Matt. 28:2, Mk. 16:5, Lk. 24:4) or the resurrected Jesus (Jn. 20:14). When this young man was about to give out where Jesus was buried, the women ran away knowing that they had made a mistake. Park stressed that no one would believe that the hope of Christian resurrection was founded upon a mistake by those women. As Scripture testifies that the women saw where Jesus lay

¹³⁹ Hyung-ryong Park, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88.

(Mk. 15:47; Lk. 3:55) Park believed that the women could not possibly have been mistaken.¹⁴¹

In regard to the denial of Christ's bodily resurrection, Park provided his own perspective which was based upon the literal interpretation of the Scriptures. Among many theories which deny the bodily resurrection of Christ, Park considered four which rejected the re-appearance of Christ being the result of his bodily resurrection. The vision theory suggests that the body which appeared to the disciples after the resurrection was actually a spiritual being, distinct from the body. This theory argues that the purpose of Jesus' appearance to his disciples was not to witness his bodily resurrection, but actually to teach them that his 'self' had turned into an immortal spirit which would always be around his disciples. Park criticised this view as an attempt to deny Christ's bodily resurrection and to establish a miracle of vision on this particular event. He found no good reason to believe in the miracle of vision rather than a miracle of bodily resurrection. If the disciples were witnessing nothing but a vision, then the Jews would not have been unable to verify where the missing body was.¹⁴²

The Spiritualistic Theory holds the view that Jesus reappeared as a ghost. This theory was recently supported by a study of spiritualism which concludes Jesus' re-appearance was similar the perceived presence of deceased spirits. Park refuted this theory as follows: "Such a theory can be easily criticised for its feeble argument. Firstly, as far as it has been proved that they are admitting a supernatural phenomenon, what else it can be if this is not an act of self-surrender, which shows that they are willing to give up the basic instrument by which they can attack the gospels? Secondly, it was not always night time when Jesus appeared after his resurrection. In fact, he appeared more times in the day time. However, is it not what they are saying that the presence of ghosts utterly impossible in the day time? Thirdly, when the disciples were suspicious of Jesus' appearance, Jesus proved

¹⁴¹ Ibid., p. 88.

¹⁴² Ibid., p. 89.

immediately that he was not a ghost. Anyway, how are they going to explain the reason for the empty tomb?"¹⁴³

The Optical Illusion Theory is far more radical than the theories we have observed so far. This theory assume that what the disciples had witnessed was neither Christ's body nor his spirit, but was a spectral illusion mainly caused by the disciples' passionate attachment to Jesus' prophecy and his resurrection. According to this theory, it was caused by the hypersensitive psychology. Park regarded this theory inappropriate nonsense. He did not accept that illusion could be seen in the daylight and, especially, that so many disciples were prone to illusion. In addition to this, he mentioned that the disciples were not over-sensitive psychologically nor they had any expected Jesus' resurrection.¹⁴⁴

The last theory is called 'The Hallucination Theory'. This theory is similar to the optical illusion theory. The difference between these two theories is that the hallucination theory is that the disciples purely hallucinated (rather than erroneously interpreting some actual event or object, as in the optical illusion theory). When a person suffers from psychological trauma or other mental disease, the person could suffer hallucinations, observing things which do not exist in reality. Again, Park found difficulties with this theory, for over 500 people could not possibly have been hallucinated at the same time. Furthermore, he argued that although many psychiatric patients could see the same type of hallucination at the same time, they could not possibly have hallucinated the same image. Torrey stated that Renan had noted in his book *Life of Jesus* that "the passion of a hallucinated woman (Mary) gives to the world a resurrected God".¹⁴⁵ Torrey explained that Renan assumed Mary was in love with Jesus, that she was distressed by Jesus' crucifixion, and in the passion of her love, she dreamed up the hallucination that she had seen Jesus risen from the dead. It was from this dramatic report from a hallucinating woman that the world came to know about Christ's resurrection. However, without being

¹⁴³ Ibid., p. 90.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ R. A. Torrey, op. cit., p. 100.

convinced by Renan's view, Torrey replied that "the passion of a hallucinated woman will not convince a stubborn unbeliever like Thomas, nor a Jewish tax-gatherer like Matthew".¹⁴⁶ To him, the idea that Mary Magdalene suffered hallucinations caused by her affection for Jesus does not make any sense since many apostles (i.e. two disciples on the way to Emmaus, Peter, Thomas, five hundred of brothers, James, and to all the apostles) had witnessed Jesus' re-appearance including Saul of Tarsus, a fierce and conscientious enemy.

Based upon the proclamation of the apostle "if Christ has not been raised, our preaching is useless and so is your faith" (I Cor. 15:14), Park emphasised the resurrection of Christ as the fulfillment of his atonement work for the salvation of the world. His strong belief in the resurrection of Christ lies in the fact that "Jesus was delivered over to death for our sins and was raised to life for our justification" (Rom. 4:25). It is, hence, necessary for the atonement to succeed that Jesus' ministry is based upon resurrection rather than eternal death. If Jesus himself was captured by death, there would have been no guarantee of redemption for sinners. Park affirmed that the dynamics of the Christianity is found in Jesus' resurrection in which the power of the death and evil have been destroyed. Furthermore, he maintained that Christ's resurrection is a public proclamation of his Father's recognition of the completeness of the salvation work of His Son, Jesus Christ.¹⁴⁷

As we have seen from the above counter-attacks, his belief in the resurrection of Christ is wholly defensive and fundamentalist in its character in the sense that it echoes the *Fundamentals*. All attempts to deny the supernatural aspects of this particular doctrine are rejected by Park. He believed the resurrection of Christ was a miracle from God, which itself brings the fulfillment of God's salvation plan. The modern liberals' assertion that supernatural work by God is a violation of His own natural law is self-evident to Park. From his Calvinist understanding of God's sovereignty, Park recognised His possession of power to operate on both direct and

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 101.

¹⁴⁷ Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. XIV*, op. cit., p. 78.

indirect (extraordinary) levels. He maintained that God could have raised Jesus from the dead just as easily as He created the entire universe. Whilst warning against the danger of pantheism which identifies the Creator with creation, Park reassured God's supernatural intervention in human life is to restore His moral system.¹⁴⁸

2.2.6. The Doctrine of Christ's Bodily Return in the Second Advent

Another important aspect of the fundamentalist doctrine, which Park revealed in his treatise, is his faith in Jesus' bodily return in the Second Advent. Along with the Princeton scholar Charles Erdman who addressed the return of Christ as a 'fundamental doctrine of the Christian faith'¹⁴⁹ in his article "The Coming of Christ" in *The Fundamentals*, Park stated his faith as follows: "The faith in Christ's Second Advent is... and will always be a palpitating and throbbing hope for thousands of the believers. When the world reaches the final day of its history, we believe that this [the Second Advent of Christ] would witness its actualisation in the greatest virtue, beauty and splendid glory. It is the hope of oasis that we are looking forward to".¹⁵⁰

Both Erdman and Park acknowledged the fact that the modern liberal theology has attempted to interpret the biblical accounts of Jesus' Second Advent as merely symbolic or allegorical expressions. One of the modern theories suggests that the Second Advent of Christ means Christ's spiritual presence in the life of believers. Another theory understands it as the manifestation of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost. Still other theories regard it as an indication of the fall of Jerusalem and the death of believers. Erdman and Park thought that these theories misinterpreted the passages which predict Christ's Second Coming. They rather suggested the Second Advent to be *personal, glorious, and imminent*.

¹⁴⁸ Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. VIII*, op. cit., pp. 65, 67.

¹⁴⁹ Charles R. Erdman, *The Fundamentals*, Vol. XI, op. cit., p. 87.

¹⁵⁰ Hyung-ryong Park, op. cit., p. 124.

By *personal* they meant visible, bodily and local rather than spiritual, providential and figurative. On the basis of Acts 1:11 which reads "This same Jesus, who has been taken from you into heaven, will come back in the same way you have seen him go into heaven", both Erdman and Park stressed Jesus' Second Coming to be visible.¹⁵¹ Erdman rejected the advent of the Spirit at Pentecost as no fulfillment of the promise of Christ' return. The fact that Peter urged the Jews to repent to prepare for the return of Christ, and that other apostles, including Paul, emphasised the Second Coming of Christ as the highest motivation for Christian life and service long after Pentecost, convinced Erdman that the return of Christ had not yet taken place. He strongly remarked: "more marvelous than the scenes at Pentecost, more startling than the fall of Jerusalem, more blessed than the indwelling of the Spirit or the departure to be the Lord, will be the literal, visible, bodily, return of Christ".¹⁵² Neither did Park agree with the theory that the Spirit's presence at Pentecost is Christ's spiritual return and *parousia* is the spiritual presence of Christ in church. In fact, the Greek word *parousia* implies 'presence', but it also means 'coming' or 'arrival'. Since the term is often used in the NT in relation with the end time (I Thess. 4:16; Acts 1:9; Matt. 24:27, 30), Park was sure that the return of Christ will be visible and prospective.¹⁵³ This perspective also prevails over the theory that the beginning of the millennium had already taken place in 1874, and that Christ's invisible return to deliver the church and to destroy the world had taken place in 1914.

Erdman and Park turned to the *glorious* aspect of Christ's return. Referring to Luke 9:26 where Jesus predicted his return "in his glory and in the glory of the Father and of the holy angels", they distinguished the Second Coming of Christ from his First Advent. They believed Jesus' Second Advent would be as visible and bodily as was his First Advent, but it would be different in the aspect of his glory and authority. They believed that Jesus would return not with the humble status

¹⁵¹ Ibid., p. 214. See also Erdman, op. cit., p. 88.

¹⁵² Charles R. Erdman, op. cit., p. 89.

¹⁵³ Hyung-ryong Park, op. cit., p. 215.

with which he was born, but with his glorious resurrected body and divine authority (Heb. 9:28).¹⁵⁴ This Scriptural description of Jesus' triumphant return with power and glory implies that it will be mainly for the purpose of 'judging the quick and the dead' rather than for evangelising the whole world. It is more eschatological and judgmental than supplementary in its character. Erdman focused his eschatology on the actualisation of Christ's divine royalty over the world (Rev. 11:15) and which had not been recognised by the world when he first came. The glory of Christ's return will prevail over the power of evil, and will take place in the future. In this glory, Erdman stressed, the body of believers will also be raised in glory, because all have died in Adam, but have been made alive in Christ. As to the question how the spirits now with Christ are to be united with their resurrected bodies, both Erdman and Park suggested it will be at the coming of the Lord.¹⁵⁵ Erdman further emphasised that the highest glory of believers is to see Jesus' appearing, since the crown of righteous is ready for all that have loved Jesus' appearing (2 Tim. 4:7-8). Above all, his fundamentalist view of this world as evil is clearly stated in the following paragraph: "the end of the world... is the end of the present age, which is to be followed by *an age of glory*. The present evil age is predicted to close amid scenes of fiery judgment upon the enemies of God, and with potents and convulsions which will affect the very earth itself; but the result will be what is figuratively described as the 'New heavens and the new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness'".¹⁵⁶

The last feature of Christ's return proposed by Erdman and Park is *imminence*. Many places in the New Testament exhort believers to watch and prepare for the imminent return of Christ. Ever since Jesus promised that he would return with the clouds (Rev. 1:7; Acts 1:11), his promised Second Coming has been a constant encouragement and hope for the church (I Thess. 4:10; 2 Peter 4:8; Matt. 24:42, 44; Mk. 13:35, 37; Lk. 21:36; Phil. 4:5). In regard to the exact day of Jesus' return, the

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 218. See also Erdman, op. cit., p. 90.

¹⁵⁵ Erdman, op. cit., pp. 91-92. See also Park, *Vol. VIII*, op. cit., p. 130.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 94. See also Park, op. cit., p. 126.

Bible is silent, but there is no doubt that the early churches believed it would be imminent. To clarify what it means by imminent, Erdman sharply distinguished 'imminent' from 'immediate'. To those who misinterpret Paul's phrase "we that are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord" as an indication of *imminence* of Christ's return rather than its *immediacy*, he argued that Paul was not mistaken at all. In his understanding, Paul did not say that he would actually see the return of Christ in his lifetime, but was rather suggesting that the Lord *might* come back in Paul's life time.¹⁵⁷ Hence, Paul was only identifying himself with other fellow Christians, wishing that he lived until Christ came.

As to the problem of conflict between parts of the Scriptures which seem to indicate that the end of time is not imminent and others which seem to indicate that it is imminent, Park's answer was that there is not really any inconsistency. He maintained that the former parts are not an indication of the exact day of the Lord's coming. This is, in fact, shown in the First Advent of Christ when many people were astonished by his birth, even though some signs of his coming had been predicted by the prophets beforehand. Although neither Erdman nor Park suggested certain dates for Jesus' return, they believed it would take place not long after the eschatological signs are seen, as was the case for Jesus' First Advent.¹⁵⁸ In relation with this theme, Erdman primarily warned against those who try to predict the exact time and date for Jesus' return, whilst Park warned against those who attempt to identify Lord's coming with a merely social revolution. They both agreed, however, on the Millennial Kingdom which will be founded after the return of Christ.¹⁵⁹

It seems quite clear that Erdman and Park were Premillennialists who held that Christ's return will precede a period of peace and justice before the end of the world. Although Erdman showed that he understood that there are some difficulties with Premillennialism—i.e. there is no place for a millennium in II Peter 3:10, wherein the destruction of the earth is predicted—the core of his argument is

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 96.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid. See also Park, *Vol. VII*, op. cit., p. 217.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 97-98. See also Park, op. cit., p. 263.

grounded upon the idea that Christ's return will be literal, and that the millennium will follow the coming of Christ. The fact that Scriptural references show "a new heaven and a new earth" (Isa. 65:17; II Pet. 3:13) will be followed by the day of the Lord, and that the "authority, glory and sovereign power" (Dan. 7:13, 14, 27) will be given to the Son of Man after he returns to earth, support Erdman's premillennialist point of view.¹⁶⁰

Park discussed his eschatological view in relation to Scripture and distinguished 'Classic Premillennialism' from 'Dispensational Premillennialism'. The former is the original form of Premillennialism whereas the latter had been proposed in later time by John N. Darby and C. I. Scofield. Being a fundamentalist who held to Classic Premillennialism, Park argued for its strong points and Dispensational Premillennialism' weak points.

In the third century, Classic Millennialism was the prevailing eschatology among the church fathers, such as Justin, Tertullian and Irenaeus. Following the biblical views that God's creation work had lasted six days and that He rested on the seventh day, this view predicts the length of human history to be six thousand years and the following age of universal blessing to last a further thousand years. This view perceives that the degree of tribulation will be heightened as the end of the world approaches, and as a result, the antichrist will emerge. After the antichrist sits in God's holy sanctuary, following the accomplishment of his destructive work, Christ will return within the splendid glory of heaven and will triumph over his enemies. Accompanying this return, will be the bodily resurrection of believers and the establishment of God's Kingdom. The age of universal blessing will fulfill the meaning of the seventh day of rest. During the seventh millennium, Jerusalem will be restored, the land will yield much fruits and peace and justice will be at their greatest. At the end of this millennium, the Last Judgment and the new creation will take place wherein will dwell the saved people forever.¹⁶¹

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Hyung-ryong Park, op. cit., pp. 248-249.

This Classic Premillennialism was maintained from the third until the nineteenth century, supplemented by some work in relation to eschatological incidents. This additional work includes discussion on the visible, personal, and glorious return of Christ. However, prior to Christ's return, Premillennialists believed that there will be an evangelisation of the all nations, and great apostasy and tribulation, along with the emergence of unrighteous people. Therefore, the church will face darkness and she will have to go through the Great Tribulation. Certainly the return of Christ will be immense, glorious, and unique, but it will surely be accompanied by incidents concerning the church, Israel, and the whole world. The deceased will be resurrected and the alive will be transfigured to meet Christ in the air. The antichrist and his allied forces will be destroyed, and Israel will be delivered to the holy land as she comes to penitence. Within this respect, the Kingdom of God will be established in a newly transformed world. Most Gentiles will be added to this Kingdom and the world will be filled with peace and justice. When the earthly reign of Christ comes to an end the Armageddon (between Gog and Magog) war follow and will be then dispersed by the flame of heaven. Then, the rest of the deceased will be resurrected and the Last Judgment and a creation of new heaven and earth will take place.¹⁶² This version of Premillennialism was advocated by scholars, such as Bengel, Hoffmann, Lange, and Van Andel, and recently by George Ladd who had briefly written, in letter form, his view of Classic Premillennialism as a response to Park's enquiry:

I believe this age is ending with the hostility of Satan's horrible concentration on the people of God, the church. This hostility will be emerged by the ruler of the world whose name shall be called the antichrist or the beast. This will be the time of great martyrdom, and the tribulation, but not so different from that of which churches have been gone through so far. In the mean time, God' wrath will be consecutively burst upon both the antichrist and his supporters in the form of supernatural and convulsive judgment....At the end of this tribulation, Christ will be appeared with glory and the church will meet him up in the air or will be remained with him on the earth as it is said "Therefore, we will be always with the Lord". The majority of Israelites will recognise Christ as their Messiah and be saved. During the Millennium, the Israel will preach the gospel.... At the end of the Millennium, Satan will be released from prison

¹⁶² Ibid., pp. 249-250.

and he will see the souls rejecting the gospel of kingdom (which is identified with the gospel of grace) preached by the Jews and adapted to the sin as we see them doing today. Although God's Son himself will reign over the earth, people will not accept the gift of salvation which God had provided through Christ, due to their sinful mind. Thus, God's Judgment for everyone is absolutely justified. After all these incidents, the creation of a new heaven and earth will be commenced wherein dwelt the justice. Only in this ultimate saved order that the prayer "Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven" would be accomplished.¹⁶³

Another type of Premillennialism is Dispensational Premillennialism which was formulated by John N. Darby, William Kelly, William Trotter, and G. Campbell Morgan. This view was popularised more widely in evangelical circles in America through the Scofield Reference Bible and the written works of Bullinger, F. W. Grant, Blackstone, Gray, and Silver. This view primarily divides history into seven dispensations (or ages) in each of which God planned a different method of salvation. Dispensational Premillennialism can be explained from its both historical and eschatological perspectives. Dispensationalists perceive of God's intervention in human history being founded upon a few covenants and the principles of seven different dispensations. According to them, humans are obliged to show their respect to some specific revelation of God's will in each period (or dispensation) of time. However, since they fail to meet God's expectation, each period of time ends with God's judgment. The theocracy which was established at the Mt. Sinai was the commencement of God's Kingdom. This Kingdom was to be expanded in terms of glory and power, however, Israelites failed to carry out this task and finally they were expelled. The prophets had predicted such a failure, and had prophesied the necessity of the Israelites' repentance in the days of Messiah, in order to restore David's throne wherein also dwells the Gentiles. When the Messiah did come, however, the Israelites did not repentant and, thus, the king Messiah withdrew back to heaven, postponing his kingdom and instituting a Gentile church on earth. This church is not the kingdom which the prophets had told about. The Age of Law (from the exodus out of Egypt to Jesus Christ's preaching the Kingdom of God) was

¹⁶³ Ibid., pp. 250-251. These statements were written by George E. Ladd on Jan. 6, 1959.

the time of preparation for the Age of Grace (from the first advent of Christ to the second advent of Christ). In this age, the church would be formed as the body of Christ, consisting of both Jewish and Gentile believers. In this church, Christ is not the king but simply a divine ruler. The church will preach the gospel to all nations in order to draw God's chosen people, and this gospel is not what we call the 'Gospel of Kingdom' but the 'Gospel of Grace' which has been freely given to His people. The ministry of the church will fail and it will not see many converts. Therefore, at the end of this age, Jesus Christ himself will return imminently to bring universal conversion.¹⁶⁴

When we examine carefully the eschatological perspective of Dispensational Premillennialism, we can observe a few things that are uniquely different from the Classic Premillennialism. Park stated the dispensational view that eschatological incidents would occur in the following order: 1) Christ's imminent return for his saints to 'rapture' his church as described in I Thess. 4; 2) the resurrection, transfiguration, and rapture of the believers; 3) the wedding supper of the Lamb; 4) re-evangelisation of the gospel of kingdom; 5) the Great Tribulation; 6) emergence of the antichrist; 7) God's wrath; 8) Christ's second coming at the end of the tribulation with his saints to begin the kingdom age dispensation; 9) judgment upon the existing nations; 10) the resurrection of the believers and martyrs who died during the Great Tribulation; 11) the destruction of the antichrist; 12) Satan's imprisonment in the Abyss for a thousand years; 13) the establishment of an earthly millennial kingdom; 14) restoration of the temple and sacrifice; 15) prompt conversion of the world; 16) Satan is set free for a short period of time; 17) the Armageddon War; 18) Satan is thrown into the lake of burning sulfur; 19) the Final Judgment; and 20) the new heaven and new earth.¹⁶⁵

So far we can tell two major differences between Dispensational Premillennialism and Classic Premillennialism. Firstly, Dispensational

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 252-253.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 253-254.

Premillennialism views church as distinct from Israel. It perceives Israel as a nation of Jewish people whereas the church is a group of believing Jews and Gentiles who have been baptised into the body of Christ. Furthermore, the church emerged as a result of Christ's earthly ministry, whereas Israel had existed much earlier. Thus, the church is not to be identified with Israel. This tells why Dispensationalists deny that the Kingdom of God that Christ preached is the divine kingdom, but claim that he referred to the restoration of the earthly kingdom of David. This dualist idea divides the kingdom of David (where Israel will dwell) from the heavenly kingdom (where the church will stay). Secondly, Dispensational Premillennialism suggests Christ's return will occur both in the air and on the earth. Its argument for the first return of Christ is based upon I Thess. 4:13-17. Dispensationalists interpret these passages as a prediction of rapture of both the church and the resurrected bodies of the deceased believers. They predict the return of Christ in the air come before the Great Tribulation. The church will be taken up to the heavenly mansions Christ has prepared, and there will occur the seven-year-long wedding supper of the Lamb. On the other hand, the Jews who remain on the earth, enduring the tribulation with their steadfast faith, would join the second phase of Christ's coming to earth. This second phase of Christ's return is mainly for the restoration of Davidic kingdom and to rule over the Millennial Kingdom.

Examining the above from the Classic Premillennialist point of view, Park pointed out some weak areas. First, he regarded the whole system of dispensations as a main cause of misinterpreting the Bible.¹⁶⁶ His main objection to the Dispensational view is based on the attempts by, for example, the Scofield Reference Bible to distinguish between mentions of the 'people of God' which mean 'Israel' and mentions which mean 'the church'. In Park's interpretation, these terms are synonymous and the Scofield Reference Bible is making a false distinction. Hence, according to the Scofield Reference Bible, the church will avoid

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 257.

the Great Tribulation while Israel will have to endure it. For Park, this is nonsense and all people will have to endure the Great Tribulation.

Second, Park rejected the principle of the seven dispensations. Dispensationalists use the Greek term οἰκονομία to indicate the existence of a different dispensations (economies) in sacred history. However, referring to the Scriptural passages, such as Lk. 16:2-4, I Cor. 9:17, Eph. 1:10, 3:2, 9, Col. 1:25, and I Tim. 1:4, Park explained that οἰκονομία does not refer to divisions of history based on God's dealings with humanity. Rather, he interpreted the word as administration or management. Furthermore, he found that the divisions of period are often piled up on each other. For instance, he did not understand why the second dispensation is to be called "the dispensation of conscience" when conscience was cautioned by the Gentiles even in the Apostolic Age (Rom. 2:14-15). He argued that dividing ages into 'a dispensation of covenant', 'a dispensation of law', and 'a dispensation of grace' is unreasonable because the covenant is also found in the dispensation of law, and the law is also found in the dispensation of grace.¹⁶⁷ He also pointed out its unbiblical approach to God's salvation work. Dispensationalists believe that God has instituted a different test, in order to give His people opportunities to obey His law. According to the Bible, Park said, "the test that human went through for the eternal life had already been taken place at the Garden of Eden. The failure of this test proved that humanity finds it absolutely impossible to obey God, and, hence, that his salvation must come through God's grace only".¹⁶⁸

Third, Park criticised Dispensational Premillennialism for its reliance on 'Pre-Tribulation' i.e. Christ's return not only after the tribulation but also before it. He maintained that the two phases of Christ's Second Coming resulted two phases of believers' resurrection: one during the time of rapture, and the other at the time of the second phase of Christ's return. Moreover, by dividing the seven years of tribulation into two—the first three and half years for preaching the gospel of

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 259.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

kingdom, and the remaining three and half years for persecution by the antichrist—dispensationalists increased the complexity of eschatological incidents. Park believed this complexity of incidents is the result of radical conjectures.

Finally, Park wrapped up his argument by proposing Classic Premillennialism as a sound Christian view. As to why Classic Premillennialists insist on a literal interpretation of prophetic literature, such as the Book of Daniel and the Book of Revelation, Park explained that Classic Premillennialism takes into account both the literal interpretation and spiritual aspects of those prophetic literature. He stated “the Premillennialism never overlooks the spiritual meaning of prophetic literature, but it tries not to incline too much as to lose the whole truth. The reason why Premillennialism takes a prudent attitude in spiritual interpretation and a positive manner in literal interpretation is because its goal is to obtain full explanation”.¹⁶⁹ Considering the importance of both the literal meaning of the Scriptures and the spiritual interpretation of the symbolic phrases, he posited Classic Premillennialism between Dispensational Premillennialism which attempts to interpret Scripture literally and Postmillennialism or Amillennialism which are more inclined to symbolic interpretation of prophetic messages.

2.2.7. Concluding Remarks

In understanding Park as a fundamentalist and his theology as fundamentalism, I am arguing that Park’s five doctrinal points bear a very strong resemblance to the theological issues raised in *The Fundamentals: A Testimony to Truth*. As discussed in the beginning of this chapter, fundamentalism was a newly emerging theological trend within conservative Christianity, defending some of the valuable traditions of evangelicalism against the modern understanding of Christian theology. The fundamentalist movement was a dominant religious force in the United States in the early 1920s. Early fundamentalism was less militant in character than the movement of the 1920s. At the Niagara Conference of 1895, fourteen articles of faith had been

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 265.

approved by conservative church leaders from various Protestant denominations. After then, in 1910, the General Assembly of Presbyterian Church condensed those fourteen articles into five and adopted these five essential articles as their central doctrines of Christian faith. In the mean time, the Korean theological world had also been influenced by the modern interpretation of the Scriptures via Korean scholars and theologians who had studied abroad. Having studied in the Old Princeton School, Park learned to defend conservative theology against newly emerging liberalism. As we have seen, it is noteworthy that there is a great similarity between the arguments advocated in *The Fundamentals* and Park's criticism of modern liberal theology in his theological volumes.

It is noteworthy that both *The Fundamentals* and Hyung-ryong Park's volumes were published in order to reaffirm some doctrines of Christian church against newly rising tendency of modernism. While the writers of *The Fundamentals* addressed some of the important theological issues in a moderate tone, Hyung-ryong Park took them as crucial issues that needed to be explored in the Korean fundamentalist-liberal controversy. Therefore, unlike the American fundamentalism of the 1920s which was less influenced by the theological assertions described in *The Fundamentals*, Korean fundamentalism gave attentive focus to these volumes as the core expression of Christianity.

3. Present-day Korean Fundamentalism and the Reformed Tradition

3.1. Korean Fundamentalism and Reformed Theology

In chapter two, I have examined and analysed how Korean fundamentalism closely followed American fundamentalism, especially Old Princeton theology. While comparing Park's dogmatic theology with Old Princetonian theology and the publication entitled *The Fundamentals*, I noted that some parts of Park's theology resembled Calvinist tradition but other parts of his theology, such as rationalism-based theology and the doctrine of biblical inerrancy, departed from the actual intention of Calvin. Following Old Princetonians, who asserted the doctrine of biblical inerrancy, Park taught in Korea that this doctrine was the traditional view of the Bible. This is not surprising since Park studied with Gresham Machen, one of the faculty members of Old Princeton seminary, and believed that Old Princeton theology was faithful to Christian tradition. As I have discussed earlier, this doctrine was developed by Old Princetonians using inductive reasoning and empirical rationalism, and departed from traditional theological methodology. Rationalism's assertion of the Bible's authority also does not follow tradition. This is because this assertion is based on the idea that the Bible cannot err since it is God's word rather than on the idea that what is written in the Bible is an historical witness to God's dealings with his people.

Rationalistic approaches to the Bible have been problematic in Korea since 1930's; they not only departed from Christian tradition but also resulted in some conservative Christians becoming labelled 'fundamentalists' while other Christians who questioned these ideas became labelled 'liberals'. This extremism has further promoted separatism among Christians and arrived to the point where, for some, it confines Christianity to a set of doctrines. Fundamentalism has been a significant theological force in Korea since the beginning of the Korean church. Unlike America, where the fundamentalist group (including Gresham Machen, Robert Dick

Wilson, Oswald T. Allis and Cornelius Van Til)¹ left Princeton Seminary to maintain its own tradition, the Korean fundamentalist group remained in the main campus (Chong Shin Theological Seminary) while the ecumenical group (which was known as *Tong-Hap* Presbyterian church and pursued 'theological liberation') left the campus and established Chang Shin Theological Seminary.² Chong Shin Seminary still follows historical fundamentalism since it maintains the doctrine of biblical inerrancy and shows hostility to other theological assertions, whilst Chang Shin adheres to Reformed theology and yet claims a rather open and inclusive attitude towards other theological hermeneutics.³ Hence, in this chapter, I use the term 'present-day fundamentalists' to denote people whose teachings in Korea of the turn of the millennium contain such characteristics as emphasising the inerrancy of the Bible and separatism between church and culture, even though they describe themselves as 'conservative'.⁴

Since this thesis engages with Park and his followers with a view to proposing ways for Korean fundamentalism to overcome the potential weakness associated with its theological absolutism and delimitation of Christian doctrines, it is essential to examine to what extent present-day Korean fundamentalism follows Park's theology and how it can draw closer to Reformed tradition. Hence, the aim of this

¹ Ed Dobson, Ed Hindson and Jerry Falwell, *The Fundamentalist Phenomenon*, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1986, p. 65.

² Chang-sik Lee, "Thought for the Last One Century in Korea" in *EAJT* 3:2/85, p. 322. This split took place in 1959 over the different theological emphases and ecclesiastical polity held by members of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. See also Duk-joo Lee, "The Korean Church and Fundamentalism: The Korean Historical Standpoint" in *Korean Christian Thought*, ed. The Korean Church History Research Centre, Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1997, p. 38.

³ Seung-hong Han, *Trends of the Korean Theological Thought Vol. 2*, Seoul: The University of Presbyterian Assembly Press, 1996, p. 576. See also Aaron Park, op. cit., pp. 307-310. Han states that Chong Shin theologians are very negative and passive about accommodating theology into social reality and affiliating to Christian organisations such as NCC, KCCE, WCC and CWS. He further states that Chong Shin Seminary maintains Calvinistic Reformed tradition and the traditions of both Old Princeton theology and Dutch Reformed theology, while retaining an essentially fundamentalist mentality.

⁴ Yong-kyu Park, *The Life and Thought of Dr. Hyung Nong Park*, op. cit., pp. 400-401, 544. Yong-kyu Park claims that Hyung-ryong Park's fundamentalism is deeply rooted in conservative Presbyterian churches and is being transmitted to today's students at Chong Shin Theological Seminary.

chapter is to demonstrate which aspects of the present-day Korean Presbyterian church are still largely fundamentalist-Calvinism (i.e. following Calvinism in their basic assertions but containing fundamentalist beliefs) in character, and how much is yet to be learned from the Calvinist tradition which is the basis for its theology.

This work involves Don Browning's third and fourth sub-movements (systematic theology and strategic practical theology). Browning suggests that systematic theology considers the general issues of Christian thoughts which respond to general questions involving current situations. He further explains that strategic practical theology is concerned with the church's internal ministry and the public liturgies and rhetorics. The two fundamental questions, which he believes, guide systematic theology are "What new horizon of meaning is fused when questions from present practices are brought to the central Christian witness?" and "What reasons can be advanced to support the validity claims of this new fusion of meaning?"⁵ The first question specifically concerns with the fusion of horizons between the vision implicit in contemporary practices and the vision implied in the practices of the normative Christian texts. This tries to explore general themes of the gospel that correspond to the general questions characterising present situations. The second question points to the obligation on systematic theology to introduce a critical and philosophical moment into theology. Transcendental judgment is one method for critically testing the metaphysical claims of Christian faith— its practical claims also need to be tested philosophically. In other words, metaphysical questions are the last validity claims, not the first. This does not mean, Browning says, that transcendental judgements in defense of metaphysical claims have no place in theology but that theologians come to them gradually.

Browning believes that strategic practical theology includes liturgies, homiletics, education, care, and social action ministries. According to him, this sub-

⁵ Don Browning, *A Fundamental Practical Theology*, op. cit., pp. 51-52. The phrase "validity claims" refers to Jürgen Habermas' understanding that a theory of undistorted communication depends on a theory of how various claims by individuals and groups are redeemed or validated.

movement encourages churches to stretch out from their small community to larger ones. This is to say that "in keeping with the move to go beyond yet include the clerical paradigm, strategic practical theology is concerned with the church's praxis in the world as well as within its own walls".⁶ This is why, according to Browning, a practical theology of care or education is not simply pastoral care or Christian education. Rather, it is something which examines the church's strategy for creating and influencing the structures of care and education in the wider secular society.

Browning's two questions which guide systematic theology help me to consider how Korean fundamentalism (contemporary practice) can carry out its mission effectively by using Calvinism (central Christian witness/normative Christian texts) and how it can meet the needs of contemporary Korean society. Following his first question "What new horizon of meaning is fused when questions from present practices are brought to the central Christian witness?", I argue that present-day Korean fundamentalism has the necessary vision latent in it. However, I also argue that the theological questions which arise from present-day Korean fundamentalism need to be re-assessed according to Calvinism, its central Christian witness. The vision latent in present-day Korean fundamentalism is that it believes Calvinism to be 'correct' Christianity. However, present-day Korean fundamentalism raises such questions as "How should its doctrinal faith be demonstrated in its contemporary social settings or culture?" and "How should its doctrinal reductionism be resolved by Calvin's understanding of a broad spectrum of Christian doctrine?" Therefore, the 'new horizon of meanings' I look for in this chapter is the necessity of present-day Korean fundamentalism's to realise the fact that the church's mission needs to operate both in the church and in the world, and that Christianity is not confined to a set of doctrines; the formulation of, and adherence to, doctrine is in service to the church's life of faith.

Habermas believes that all communication implies the capacity to give reasons for or support the validity of claims being made (Ibid., p. 69).

⁶ Ibid., p. 57.

Following Browning's second question "What reasons can be advanced to support the validity claims of this new fusion of meaning?", I regard Calvinism as support for the validity claims of the new fusion of meaning. As Browning suggests that "developing criteria for testing the practical validity claims of the Christian faith is the task of theological ethics" (i.e. theological ethics generally is seen as a dimension of systematic theology), I argue that the criteria for the validity claims of the new fusion of meaning are Calvin's teaching that the Christian church is in intimate relationships with culture and states (politics). In this way, present-day Korean fundamentalism would understand that the church continues to make human progress towards God's kingdom.

When present-day Korean fundamentalism achieves this fusion, it may move on to Browning's next step (strategic practical theology) to engage with contemporary society's concrete problems. Browning lists the following four basic questions to help us to see how strategic practical theology works: "1) How do we understand this concrete situation in which we must act?; 2) What should be our praxis in this concrete situation?; 3) How do we critically defend the norms of our praxis in this concrete situation? and 4) What means, strategies, and rhetorics should we use in this concrete situation?"⁷ In response to the first question, I note that the current social situation in which present-day Korean fundamentalism must act is a multi-theological society. Present-day Korean fundamentalism is anti-hermeneutical and thus against diverse theological interpretations. However, in response to Browning's second question, I argue that present-day Korean fundamentalism needs to pay careful attention to the possibility of various approaches and hermeneutical insights to Scripture. The praxis required by present-day Korean fundamentalism is correct understanding of contemporary society since many people believe Christianity is not crucial and is not the sole route to salvation. The third question leads me to discuss the necessity of defending the norms of praxis (Calvin's teaching) in the contemporary Korean situation. I regard Calvin as

⁷ Ibid., pp. 55-56.

the authoritative theological foundation upon which present-day Korean fundamentalism could base its faith. Hence, I interpret the strategies and means referred to in Browning's fourth question in the Korean situation to mean i) the importance of the church being open to diverse theological hermeneutics, and ii) the importance of developing ecumenical awareness.

In order to deal with these rising issues, I first examine how present-day Korean fundamentalism's basic theological concerns are closely linked to those of Reformed theology. Secondly, I discuss the extent to which present-day Korean fundamentalism's doctrinal reductionism contrasts to Reformed theology. Thirdly, I explain why it is relevant for present-day Korean fundamentalism to reconstruct the relationship between doctrine and practice. I then discuss how present-day Korean fundamentalism's understanding of relationships between church and culture, church and state, and the biblical inerrancy doctrine differs from those Reformed theology. Finally, I discuss contemporary Korean society and the theological tasks facing the Korean church.

These tasks require an examination of present-day Korean fundamentalism in the light of Calvinism to ascertain the similarities and differences between the two. This will be done mainly by assessing how much contemporary fundamentalist theologians, such as Aaron Park (an elderly son of Hyung-ryong Park) and Eui-hwan Kim (the former president of Chong Shin seminary) of the Korean Presbyterian church, observes Calvinist tradition but continues to follow Hyung-ryong Park's fundamentalist beliefs and doctrinal confession. In so doing, brief reference will be made to John Calvin and a few Calvinist scholars, in order to give a cursory explanation of Reformed theology as it concerns the working out of doctrine and practice. This will provide an understanding of what sort of theological difficulties fundamentalism brings into the Korean church today and which parts of Reformed theology are missing from present-day Korean fundamentalism.

In the following section, I discuss present-day Korean fundamentalism's resemblance to some important Calvinist doctrines. This will show that present-day

fundamentalism faithfully adheres to some of Calvinism's major theological points, but that it does not include all of Calvin's theology. This will be shown by comparing Calvin's *Institutes* with Hyung-ryong Park's and present-day fundamentalist theologians' understandings of Calvinism.

3.1.1. A Reformed Theology Reflected in Korean Fundamentalism

The aim of this section is to discuss which aspects of present-day Korean fundamentalism become contemporary practice and how it has the vision latent in it. I realise that present-day fundamentalism's reference to Calvin is what makes fundamentalism a significant force in Korean society. However, I note that some theological questions arise from present-day Korean fundamentalism's departure from Calvinism, its central Christian witness. The questions often become obstacles to the church's mission. I now examine present-day Korean fundamentalism's recognition of Calvin's important Christian doctrines.

According to Park, present-day Korean fundamentalism holds to the following doctrines expounded by John Calvin, namely: Scripture, God's sovereignty, and grace (i.e. man's total depravity, unconditional election, limited atonement, irresistible grace, and perseverance of saints).⁸ Calvinism, however, is not indifferent to other doctrines, such as justification by faith alone, the need for regeneration, the personal and visible return of Jesus Christ, and ecclesiology, but only gives special emphasis to those doctrines which it believes are extremely important. Present-day Korean fundamentalism's five essential doctrines, to some extent, coincide with Calvinism's important doctrines, but, I suggest, the emphasis is not the same.

Following Hyung-ryong Park, present-day Korean fundamentalism regards the Bible as one of life's essentials. This seems to correspond with Calvin's concern that the Bible is God's revelation. Calvin, like Luther and Zwingli, believed that the

⁸ Aaron Park, *Conservative Trends in Contemporary Theology*, Seoul: Christian Literature Crusade, 1993, pp. 226, 272-273.

Bible has divine authority. He held that the Scriptures are the only reliable records of God's truth. However, he stated that "the full authority which they ought to possess with the faithful is not recognised, unless they are believed to have come from heaven, as directly as if God had been heard giving utterance to them".⁹ The Scriptures, Calvin perceived, are the words given by God to His people through the inner, supernatural ministry of the Holy Spirit.¹⁰ Therefore, the Scriptures have divine authority and this authority is approved by the church.¹¹ Korean fundamentalism follows Calvin's view of the Bible in this respect. Hyung-ryong Park wrote: "The Korean Presbyterian church has shown great enthusiasm for theological training and various types of [Bible] conferences, Bible seminars, Sunday schools and worship services, while holding the Bible to be God's inerrant word".¹² Following Calvin, Park believed that the Bible was God's word, because God gives knowledge about Himself only through the Scriptures. For Park, unless we consult the Bible, we would never understand God's revelation. He described the relationship between the Bible and divine oracle as being similar to that between water and a lake; water being divine oracle and the lake being the Bible.¹³ By the same token, Aaron Park claims the superiority of biblical authority over any other Christian doctrine: "Although the charismatic movement of today's church (especially that of modern Pentecostalism which leads to neo-Pentecostalism) gains in an explosive public favour from today's Christianity and society, it deteriorates the orthodox faith and theology of biblical Christianity because it places human experience (even if it is a spiritual experience) over the Bible, the revelation of God's salvation".¹⁴

⁹ John Calvin, *Institutes*, I, 7, 1. See also Ford L. Battles, *Analysis of the Institutes of the Christian Religion of John Calvin*, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1980, op. cit., p. 43.

¹⁰ Ibid., I, 7, 1. See also IV, 8, 9.

¹¹ Ibid., I, 7, 2. See also Ford L. Battles, op. cit., p. 43.

¹² Hyung-ryong Park, "The Theological Tradition of the Korean Presbyterian Church" in *The Life and Thought of Dr. Hyung Nong Park*, op. cit., p. 43.

¹³ Eui-hwan Kim, "The Theology of Hyung-ryong Park", Ibid., pp. 239-240.

¹⁴ Aaron Park, op. cit., p. 109.

Calvin's understanding that the Bible is God's spoken word and which was transmitted to us by and continues to be illuminated by the Holy Spirit indicates that he believed in the Scriptures' divine authority.¹⁵ This makes the Bible a primary subject of faith since, for Calvin, it alone demonstrates God's true nature to humankind. Hyung-ryong Park and other fundamentalists today also believe that the Bible is a special revelation and is inspired by the supernatural power of the Holy Spirit.¹⁶ Calvin understood, however, that the Bible did not arrive directly from heaven. He did not speak of the doctrine of biblical inerrancy as Korean fundamentalism claims today. Calvin was aware of the possibility of mistranslation and miscopying and the absence of unanimity of interpretation,¹⁷ and hence thought that knowledge of the original biblical languages is essential for true understanding. Perhaps because of these possibilities sources of error, Calvin suggested the guidance of the Holy Spirit, which acts through a reader's conscious, so that the reader would not misjudge God's words while he or she reads and interprets the text. Calvin stated: "There is nothing repugnant here to what was lately said (chap. vii.) that we have no great certainty of the word itself, until it be confirmed by the testimony of the Spirit. For the Lord has so knit together the certainty of his word and his Spirit, that our minds are duly imbued with reverence for the word when the Spirit shining upon it enables us there to behold the face of God..."¹⁸ Therefore, God's word, without the illumination of the Spirit, remains a closed book, and in the same manner, the supposed leading by the Spirit without God's word results in

¹⁵ John Calvin, I, 7, 1. See also Ford L. Battles, op. cit., pp. 43-44; Thomas F. Torrance, *The Hermeneutics of John Calvin*, Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1988, p. 76; Wilhelm Niesel, *The Theology of Calvin*, London: Lutterworth Press, 1956, pp. 24, 31.

¹⁶ Hyung-ryong Park, "The Inspiration of the Bible" in *The Life and Thought of Dr. Hyung Nong Park*, op. cit., p. 55. See also Sung-su Kwon, "The Biblical Interpretation of Hyung-ryong Park" in *The Life and Thought of Dr. Hyung Nong Park*, Seoul: Chong Shin University Press, 1996, pp. 273-330.

¹⁷ Calvin dealt with the inaccuracies of the Vulgate (John Calvin, *Tracts and Treatises in Defence of the Reformed Faith*, trans. by Henry Beveridge, Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd, 1958, pp. 65-68).

¹⁸ John Calvin, I, 9, 3. See also Ford L. Battles, op. cit., pp. 48-49; Thomas F. Torrance, op. cit., p. 77; Wilhelm Niesel, op. cit., p. 24; Ronald S. Wallace, *Calvin's Doctrine of the Word and Sacrament*, Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1953, pp. 101-102.

errors.¹⁹ On the other hand, present-day Korean fundamentalism claims that the Bible is the inspired/inerrant word of God.²⁰ While criticising today's Dutch Reformed theology which emphasises the Holy Spirit's role in the inspiration of the Bible, Aaron Park affirmed that its over-emphasis of the Holy Spirit actually reduces the idea of Scripture's objective divine authority. He stated, "In their views of revelation and the Scriptures, Abraham Kuyper and Hermann Bavinck (great scholars of Dutch Reformed theology) did not oppose the objective divine authority of the Bible, although they enlarged the importance of the Holy Spirit's ministry".²¹ Discussing a theological standpoint of G. C. Berkouwer, Aaron Park referred to him as one of the leaders of 'neo-orthodoxy' who he thinks "believes literally in phrases such as *Scriptura est Verbum dei*, but actually believes that the Bible is the word of God in the sense that all the phrases and characters in the Bible testify about God rather than the Bible itself becomes 'a direct word of God'".²² This gives an impression that fundamentalism is mainly concerned about the Bible simply being the word of God, while giving less regard to *how* to understand and interpret God's word. The reason that Calvin emphasised the 'divine authority of the Bible' rather than the 'inerrancy of the Bible' seems to be that the Bible is to be understood following the guidance of the Holy Spirit since the Holy Spirit himself is the author of the Scriptures. Contrarily, present-day fundamentalism's over-emphasis of the Scriptures' inerrancy and lack of attention to illumination by the Spirit could create problems such as contradicting Calvin's own concern about the Spirit's continuous work in believers' minds. Also, without the Spirit's guidance in interpretation of the Scriptures one would end up with arbitrary interpretations. The essential role of the Spirit for accurate interpretation of the Bible is affirmed in the following statement of Abraham Kuyper: "He [the Holy Spirit] regenerates us by the Word... The

¹⁹ John Calvin, *Calvin's Commentaries: The Epistles of Paul The Apostle to the Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians and Colossians*, Trans. T.H.L. Parker, Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1965, pp. 165-166.

²⁰ Aaron Park, op. cit., p. 249.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid., p. 250.

operations of the Word and the Holy Spirit never oppose each other, but as St. Paul declares emphatically, that the Holy Scripture is prepared by the Spirit of God and given to the Church *as an instrument* to perfect God's work in man... Hence the Spirit's preparation and preservation of Scripture is not subordinate, but prominent with reference to the life of the entire Church".²³

For Calvin, the chief article of faith is God's sovereignty. This is to say that the Triune God absolutely and unconditionally rules over His creation. By the power of His Word and Spirit God created heaven and earth *ex nihilo*.²⁴ To Calvin, the idea that God created this universe in an orderly manner proves Him to be the ruler of all creation.²⁵ Thus, God appoints the course of nature and directs the course of history according to His own sovereign good pleasure. God is not limited in time and space nor alarmed or defeated by any circumstances or evil power.²⁶ Calvin affirms that God exerts not merely a general influence, but actually rules the affairs of humankind. To assume that God's plan fails and that He strives to no effect is to degrade Him to the level of His creatures. It is no surprise, then, that Hyung-ryong Park (as he referred himself as a Calvinist) believed in God's sovereignty; that God is over His creation and that He rules them. While identifying Calvinism with orthodox theology, he confessed that "God is personal, sole, Triune, eternal and unlimited, while His operation includes His will, predestination, and the creation, providence and miracle account of the universe".²⁷ The following statement by Chul-won Suh, a fundamentalist theologian, also shows that Hyung-ryong Park was a Calvinist to some extent and that his Calvinist beliefs contributed to the Korean church's belief in God's sovereignty:

Following the tradition of Reformed theology, Dr. Hyung-ryong Park displayed creation, salvation and providence as under the doctrine of God's sovereignty. Thus, in speaking of providence and salvation, the Korean church learned that these are the

²³ Abraham Kuyper, *The Work of the Holy Spirit*, New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1900, pp. 58-59.

²⁴ John Calvin, I, 14, 20. See also Ford L. Battles, op. cit., p. 68.

²⁵ Ibid., I, 14, 3. See also Ford L. Battles, op. cit., p. 64.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. VIII*, op. cit., pp. 26-27.

result of God's grace, preceding human cooperation and actions. It also learned that God created with His sovereign will and that salvation comes from God as it is solely due to His own ministry. Since Dr. Park based his theology on God's sovereign providence, it was natural for him to understand that only those who receive salvation are the elected ones. This is why the doctrine of the elect became the position of the Korean church. Even in modern times, when human free will and initiative are greatly emphasised, Dr. Park had the courage to defend and proclaim the doctrine of predestination. One can easily end up believing the theory of election before the fall if he over-emphasises God's sovereignty. However, Dr. Park did not take this extreme stance because he possessed a genuine understanding of the theory of election after the fall, following the thoughts of Kuyper and Bavinck.²⁸

This shows that today's Korean fundamentalism, greatly influenced by Hyung-ryong Park's theology, also understands God's sovereignty is one of the important doctrines, but that it is not the most important one (unlike Calvinism, which says that God's sovereignty is the supreme doctrine). Aaron Park says that the doctrine of the inspiration of the Bible is the supreme doctrinal position of the Korean Presbyterian church: "The Korean conservative Presbyterian church does not follow a modified Reformed theology which emphasises God's sovereignty but is indifferent to the inspiration of the Scriptures. Rather, it regards highly evangelical theology which does not claim much about God's sovereign rule but believes in the inspiration of the Bible and the Christian mission for the world. If it were to be asked to choose one alternative, I have no doubt that the church would take the latter".²⁹ Aaron Park here suggests that 'genuine Puritan Reformed theology' is to be emphatically centred on the doctrine of inerrancy of the Bible rather than on the doctrine of God's sovereignty. He does not reject the latter idea but believes that one is not being true to Puritan Reformed theology if one follows the doctrine of God's sovereignty to the exclusion of the doctrine of biblical inspiration and inerrancy. Significantly, Aaron Park's statement demonstrates that contemporary Korean fundamentalism is not genuinely Calvinist in its theology but fundamentalist, in the sense that it asserts the superiority of biblical

²⁸ Chul-won Suh, "A Systematic Theology of Dr. Hyung-ryong Park" in *The Life and Thoughts of Dr. Hyung Nong Park*, op. cit., p. 444.

²⁹ Aaron Park, op. cit., p. 232.

inspiration/inerrancy rather than following Calvin's understanding that divine sovereignty and biblical authority are most important. In this respect, present-day Korean fundamentalism should be regarded as fundamentalist-Calvinism.

The doctrine of grace, which can be summarised in five major points, is another important aspect of Calvin's theology. The first point is 'total depravity'. Calvin believed that the spiritual separation of the human race from God occurred because of Adam and Eve's disobedience to God.³⁰ Therefore, all human beings are affected by sin in every aspect of their thought and action so that nothing originating from human minds (and hence lacking God's renewing grace) can possibly restore the God-human relationship.³¹ The fall of humanity actually made us blind and sinful: "The Holy Spirit assures us in Holy Scripture that our understanding is so smitten with blindness, our heart in its motions so evil and corrupt, in fact our whole nature so depraved, that we can do nothing else but sin until He Himself creates in us a new will".³² This is to say that man's life, ruined by his sin, makes him worthless and unable to know either God or the way that He is leading him. Unless humans recognise their disastrous and helpless condition before God and are delivered by supernatural acts on the part of God and regenerated by the Spirit, they will never be able to seek and properly ask God for a Redeemer.³³ Humanity's faith in God is not something which man contributes to his own salvation, but is itself a gift of God through which the sinner is encouraged to receive that gift of salvation.³⁴

The doctrine of depravity is also found in Hyung-ryong Park's theology. He believed that the origin of human sin was Adam and Eve's rebellion against God.³⁵ He spoke of the universal characteristic of sin because "the Bible directly teaches

³⁰ John Calvin, II, 1, 4. See also Ford L. Battles, op. cit., p. 86; Louis Berkhof, *Systematic Theology*, Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1939, p. 238; Wilhelm, op. cit., p. 81; A. Dakin, *Calvinism*, London: Duckworth, 1940, p. 30.

³¹ Louis Berkhof, op. cit., p. 246.

³² John Calvin, *Corpus Reformatorum* 14, 35, ed. by Baum, Cunits, and Reuss, Vols. 1-59, Brunswick, 1863-1900. See also Louis Berkhof, op. cit., p. 248.

³³ Louis Berkhof, op. cit., p. 426.

³⁴ John Calvin, II, 12, 8. See also Louis Berkhof, op. cit., p. 428; Wilhelm Niesel, op. cit., p. 122.

³⁵ Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. III*, op. cit., p. 179.

about human's universal character of sin".³⁶ Hence, following Calvin, Park believed that "there is no one who is without sin (I King 8:46), who can declare his righteousness (Ps. 143:2), who has pure heart (Pr. 20:9), and who is just (Ecc. 7:20). The whole world is accountable to God (Rom. 3:1-12, 19-20, 23), all humans stumble (Jas. 3:2) and those who claim that they are without sin deceive themselves".³⁷ Park listed the four consequences of human sin as: 1) the separation of God and Adam, 2) an evil effect upon human disposition (total depravity of personality, loss of God's image, consciousness of contamination and liability for sin, and moral transformation into evil), 3) suffering of death (physical death, diseases and pain, and spiritual and eternal death), and 4) the degeneration of environments (nature has been cursed, a separation of humanity from paradise and the tree of life).³⁸ All of these indicate that Park's theology actually begins with his acknowledgment of human's total inability and need for God's grace. Very much like Hyung-ryong Park, Aaron Park claimed that the Reformed theology of the Korean church bases its tradition of faith upon "the five points of Calvinism: total depravity, unconditional election, limited atonement, irresistible grace, and perseverance of saints".³⁹ He continued "the Synod of Dort defined the meaning of the five points as 'God's grace'. The five points of the Synod of Dort are comparable to five spokes stretching out from the centre of a wheel. Grace is the centre of this wheel. Hence, Reformed theology is a theology which claims God's sovereign grace over humanity".⁴⁰

The second point of the doctrine of grace is 'unconditional election'. Calvin believed that God chose certain individuals for salvation before the creation of the world.⁴¹ This does not mean that God had chosen certain people to be saved according to their characteristics such as faith, repentance, and good deeds. Rather,

³⁶ Ibid., p. 187.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid., pp. 164-169.

³⁹ Aaron Park, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

God motivates those elected people to come to His presence through faith and repentance which are wholly given by God Himself. Since sinners could not possibly be saved by their own efforts, God took the initiative to convert and save them. Therefore, election was not determined or conditioned by man's sophisticated knowledge or deeds. It was rather God's choice to grant salvation to sinners. Those whom God has elected are brought to willing acceptance of Christ through the power of the Spirit.⁴² Hyung-ryong Park described his view of election in a similar manner. This is seen in his discussions of Karl Barth's theology. His difficulty in accepting Barth's position on salvation is found in Barth's idea of 'the universal offer of salvation'. He did not agree with Barth that the election in Christ or the covenant of salvation is extended to the reprobate. Park assumed that this was an attempt to "include every one as predestined to salvation".⁴³ His objection is due to God's will which, he believed, obviously distinguishes eternal salvation from eternal damnation.⁴⁴

Park's argument definitely leads to the third point of the doctrine of grace: limited atonement. Questions arise due to the claim that Christ died for only a limited number of sinners. Why should not God save all mankind when all were equally fallen, and when He loved them all so much that He forsook His only begotten Son? Limited atonement seems to suggest that Calvinism tends to restrict the great value of Christ's ransom death. Indeed, Calvin's own understanding of predestination was that Christ's redeeming death was intended to save the elect that God the Father had chosen. Louis Berkhof, a Calvinist theologian, assures us that the Reformed position is "that Christ died for the purpose of actually and certainly

⁴¹ John Calvin, III, 21, 1. See also Ford L. Battles, *op. cit.*, p. 256; Wilhelm Niesel, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

⁴² John Calvin, III, 2, 24. See also Ford L. Battles, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-173; Wilhelm Niesel, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

⁴³ Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. VIII*, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

saving the elect, and the elect only".⁴⁵ Calvinism understands that God is free to use of Christ's death for whatever He chooses, for it occurred at an enormous cost to God Himself. Christ, therefore, carried the sins of certain specified sinners and, by doing that, he secured everything necessary for their salvation. Hence, salvation through Jesus Christ is God's will since God sent Jesus Christ; it confirms that salvation is achieved by the work of Christ.⁴⁶ Hyung-ryong Park's understanding of salvation reflects Calvin's ideas: Park stated "that salvation comes through God's grace and His sovereign will, which is free to lead small or large portions of people or all people into salvation".⁴⁷ Park defined Christ's death as "the fulfillment of law, the satisfaction of divine righteousness, and the death which reconfirmed the salvation of those to whom he actually applies the benefits of his redemptive work".⁴⁸ One can see that Korean fundamentalism interprets the doctrine of predestination in relation to divine election. This rejects the idea of salvation for 'all men' in Rom. 5:18 and I Cor. 15:22, because 'all men' in this particular context means only those who follow Christ, as contrasted with all who are descended from Adam.⁴⁹

The fourth point of the doctrine of grace, irresistible grace, is also important to present-day Korean fundamentalism. Calvin understood that the gospel is freely given and proclaimed to everyone who hears it.⁵⁰ However, the Spirit takes the responsibility for calling the elect to their salvation: "But if illumination by the Spirit is the true source of understanding in the intellect, much more manifest is his agency in the confirmation of the heart... Hence the Spirit performs the part of a seal, sealing upon our hearts the very promises, the certainty of which was

⁴⁵ Louis Berkhof, op.cit, p. 394. Louis Berkhof is noteworthy since Hyung-ryong Park often cited Berkhof's systematic theology in his *Dogmatics* and regarded him as an orthodox theologian (Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. I*, op. cit., pp. 189-367).

⁴⁶ John Calvin, *Corpus Reformatorum*, 51, 162.

⁴⁷ Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. XIII*, op. cit., p. 237.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid., *Vol. VIII*, op. cit., p. 220. See also Louis Berkhof, op. cit., p. 396.

⁵⁰ John Calvin, II, 12, 2-3. See also Ford L. Battles, op. cit., p. 148; Wilhelm Niesel, op. cit., p. 121.

previously impressed upon our minds".⁵¹ Sinful human beings do resist God's grace, but when His Spirit works in their hearts, renewing them and challenging their rigid minds, then their rebellion against God is replaced by high responsiveness and submission to God. The Spirit of God is not under control of man's will, but motivates and convinces the sinner of his salvation. The Spirit encourages and leads the sinner to believe, to repent, and to accept Jesus Christ as his saviour.⁵² Following Hyung-ryong Park's theology, present-day Korean fundamentalism also teaches that God's grace, as revealed in Jesus Christ, is irresistible. What Christ had brought, it believes, "through his death, to whom salvation is given, is the redemptive inspiration of the Holy Spirit".⁵³ The Holy Spirit unerringly applies salvation to those for whom Christ sacrificed his life. The Spirit implements this mission at the right time and in the right way as is predetermined in the covenant of eternal grace. As the Spirit carries out this mission instantly and immanently according to his efficient plan, he does his work directly within sinners, while leading them to faith, repentance, and obedience.⁵⁴

Finally, the fifth point of the doctrine of grace, perseverance of the saints, is a concluding promise to the other four points mentioned above. It is clear that God takes full responsibility for the people He had chosen, and who were redeemed by Christ, and given faith by the Spirit.⁵⁵ God perseveres with the saints, keeping them from falling away, as they surely would do if God was not with them. God's election of His people is to be completed by His perseverance with the saints. The saints are kept in faith by God's omnipotent power and thus are guided safely in their pilgrimage to His Kingdom. Referring to Calvin's understanding of God keeping His saints safe from perishing (*Institutes III, 24, 7*), Hyung-ryong Park stated that "the perseverance of the saints is the continuous work of the Spirit in believers' lives and this work of the Spirit will achieve its goal because of its initial

⁵¹ Ibid., III, 2, 36. See also Ford L. Battles, op. cit., p. 175; Wilhelm Niesel, op. cit., p. 130.

⁵² Louis Berkhof, op. cit., p. 426.

⁵³ Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. XIII*, op. cit., p. 237.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

pouring of divine grace (which continues today) into the saints' hearts".⁵⁶ This is to say that God's salvation work continues today and never fails because He is sovereign Lord of the universe. As has been discussed thus far, Hyung-ryong Park's beliefs and contemporary Korean fundamentalism resemble Calvinism in many aspects. Believing in God's plan, operation and completion of redemption, Korean fundamentalism concedes to the sovereign grace of God—which Calvin himself believed was the source of believers' holy life.

In the next section, I discuss present-day Korean fundamentalism's shortcomings in the light of Calvinism, since this will distinguish Calvinism from fundamentalism.

3.1.2. Present-day Korean Fundamentalism's Doctrinal Reductionism in Contrast to Reformed Theology

The major concern of this section is to discuss present-day fundamentalism's doctrinal reductionism. This discussion corresponds to Browning's suggestion that once the questions from present practice (present-day Korean fundamentalism) are brought to the central Christian witness (Calvinism), a new horizon of meaning will be formed. Present-day Korean fundamentalism's strong tendency to focus on the five major doctrines makes it differ from Calvin's and his followers' understanding of Christian doctrine. It is hoped that present-day Korean fundamentalism will realise that Calvin admitted a broad spectrum of Christian doctrine.

To Calvinism, the primary source of Christian doctrine is the Bible. In regard to doctrine, Calvin stated, "there are two divisions—viz. the authority of delivering dogmas, and the interpretation of them".⁵⁷ Calvin conceded that the prophets and apostles were authorised messengers of God's word, for "whenever they are called to office, they are enjoined not to bring anything of their own, but to speak by the

⁵⁵ John Calvin, III, 24, 7. See also Ford L. Battles, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

⁵⁶ Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. XIII*, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

⁵⁷ John Calvin, IV, 8, 1. See also Ford L. Battles, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

mouth of the Lord".⁵⁸ With regard to interpretation of doctrine, Calvin stated that Christ is the ruler of the church and that "the servants of God are only to teach what they have learned from himself [Jesus], yet, according to the variety of times, they have had different methods of learning".⁵⁹ Louis Berkhof defined a religious dogma as "a doctrine, derived from Scripture, officially defined by the Church, and declared to rest upon divine authority".⁶⁰ While explaining that the Reformers had believed that the material contents of dogmas were derived from Scripture, Berkhof stated that dogmas are not "infallible but yet have a high degree of stability".⁶¹ Further, he indicated, "they [dogmas] are authoritative, not merely because they are proposed by the Church, but *formally* as defined by the Church and *materially* as based on the Word of God".⁶² These authoritative dogmas, he said, have social significance as well as historical value, since they represent the confession of the whole community and pass this historical faith on to future generations.⁶³ Berkhof's understanding of dogma as an expression of the faith of a community rather than that of single individuals implies that dogma is not confined to individual's own behaviour towards God but that it centres upon individuals' practical lives in community. Present-day Korean fundamentalism asserts that a certain set of doctrines is crucial to believers as this set becomes the way through which believers realise God's saving grace.⁶⁴ Unless one fully comprehends and believes the essential doctrines of the church, Korean fundamentalism believes, no further action by Christians can occur.

A problem arises, however, when the word of God is formulated as categories of doctrines, as present-day Korean fundamentalism does. The original revelation is believed to be preserved and handed down by the Church Fathers' and other

⁵⁸ Ibid., IV, 8, 2 & 4. See also Ford L. Battles, op. cit., p. 322.

⁵⁹ Ibid., IV, 8, 5. See also Ford L. Battles, op. cit., p. 322.

⁶⁰ Louis Berkhof, *The History of Christian Doctrines*, London: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1937, p. 18.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 17.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 19.

⁶⁴ Aaron Park, op. cit., pp. 272-273.

theologians' writings. As we consider that doctrine is the result of human exegesis of God's revelation, we are confronted with at least two items for consideration. The first of these is that the scope of God's revelation, as demonstrated in the Bible (special revelation) and human history (general revelation), is far beyond the doctrines we have thus far. Doctrinal reductionism, which tends to limit the whole aspect of God's revelation to certain doctrines, is a serious risk. It presupposes a limitation of doctrine which has nothing whatsoever to do with the extended interpretation of doctrines developed after the Reformation. Present-day Korean fundamentalism tends to claim its interpretation of Scripture (or doctrine) to be the soundest approach to the truth of divine revelation. Louis Berkhof stated that the doctrines, which are entitled to a place amongst church dogmas, are open to discussions and further development. He acknowledged that "Protestant theology has always maintained the position that the dogma of the Church, while characterised by a high degree of stability, is yet subject to change and has in the course of history been enriched with new elements, received more careful formulation, and even undergone certain transformations".⁶⁵ He understood that the history of dogma conveys deeper meaning than merely being an account of the various dogmas of the church. The history of dogma, he said, "is the history of an organic growth and of the inner workings of the mind of the Church, and therefore presupposes a rather continuous development of the ecclesiastical dogma".⁶⁶ Berkhof's idea that church dogma should be based on past doctrinal development, while taking account of the present assumes that the truth requires a sound interpretation and a proper evaluation according to the changing conditions of human life. Present-day Korean fundamentalism differs from Berkhof's idea in that it believes that doctrine must defend itself from further development. This contradicts the Reformers' ideas. In Berkhof's own words: "while many errors were exposed and corrected, the Reformers sought support for their views in the early

⁶⁵ Louis Berkhof, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

Church Fathers, and did not even hesitate to adopt some of the views that were developed during the Middle Ages. There was continuity of thought even here".⁶⁷ Referring to fundamentalism, which finds the whole essence of Christianity from rationalism and biblical inerrancy, Hendrikus Berkhof argues that this hermeneutical position never leaves space for criticism. By quoting Matthew 13:52 ("every scribe who has been trained for the kingdom of heaven is like a householder who brings out of his treasure what is new and what is old"), Hendrikus Berkhof insists this "form of fidelity to the Bible makes dogmatics impossible", unless "the 'naïve' association with the Bible remains really naïve", that is, "full of wonder and of eagerness for new discoveries".⁶⁸ Present-day Korean fundamentalism, as has been discussed earlier, mainly focuses on the five major doctrines (the inerrancy of the Bible, the virgin birth of Christ, the substitutionary atonement of Christ, the bodily resurrection of Christ and the bodily return of Christ in the Second Advent), and it practices theological hermeneutics only within those five doctrines. Although some of these doctrines are defined by Reformed theology (since the doctrine of biblical inerrancy is not defined by Calvinism), they do not represent the whole of Reformed theology. Present-day Korean fundamentalism takes one part of God's revelation into consideration, but disregards the other part which is revealed in history. Its theological doctrines are focused on God's special revelation, while general revelation is recognised as partial and supplementary. Revelation as a whole, however, functions as a mediator through which humanity comes to understand God and His concern for humanity. Defending Scriptural authority or divine revelation by customizing it into a number of doctrines does not mean that the defenders are properly engaged in biblical hermeneutics. Hence, both special and general revelation should be regarded as equal and, to a large extent, should be interdependent on each other.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 23.

⁶⁸ Hendrikus Berkhof, *Introduction to the Study of Dogmatics*, Trans. by John Vriend, Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1985, p.17.

The second item to consider is that the principles by which the Church Fathers and theologians decided which doctrines are sound and orthodox and which are false and heretical call for in-depth examination. This is inevitable as one recalls that God's revelation was first vouchsafed to prophets and apostles, and then to the church. Where should we find the church's authentic faith? Perhaps, the most likely answer to this question is the church's continuous teaching of Scripture. When we perceive the church's principles of exegesis and methods of teaching as tradition and the content of its discipline as Scripture (primarily the Old Testament), we can ask whether tradition and Scripture are interdependent or independent. Is there any inconsistency between tradition and Scripture?

The early church recognised that apostolic testimony is found in the apostles' written documents. Chronologically, the oral apostolic testimony preceded written documents, and this leads us to understand that the written documents were kept by the church as evidence of the apostles' testimony. Prior to the completion of the New Testament, such informal written documents and catechetical instructions and liturgical practice had a role in making the church a crucial community of religious faith. Would it be fair to claim that the Church Fathers' interpretation of doctrines are reliable, since apostolic testimony and the Old Testament are interdependent with one another? Since we presuppose that the writers of the New Testament had referred to oral tradition and documents which existed currently with the apostles, we may see that apostolic testimony was based on the OT and the apostles' personal experience of Jesus Christ. Apparently, the ministers of the church, by virtue of the Spirit, are divinely appointed to preach and teach the apostles' disciplines (I Tim. 3:2; 5:17). They are the authoritative interpreters of Scripture, and hence their interpretations are the essential complement to Scripture teaching. Hence, significantly, the original gospel message has been inherited and maintained as doctrines created by ministers and theologians. However, it is not to be overlooked that historical error, limited scientific knowledge, and human prejudice found in some doctrines result from theologians and ministers. Louis Berkhof had

maintained that dogma is not infallible but yet is authoritative.⁶⁹ He found dogma's authority came from its original development at the close of the period of special revelation. However, this does not convince Berkhof that dogma is completely authoritative, unless church is conscious of the riches of divine truth given by the Holy Spirit.⁷⁰ So, even though doctrines are highly regarded, they should be augmented by sensible adjustment of doctrinal norms whenever necessary. The church, in a strict sense, has multiple confessions (or doctrines) of faith. She has battled against heretics in order to consolidate the 'traditional' understanding of Scripture, and this understanding was gained by various theological approaches to Scripture. Emphasising that doctrinal truth should be revealed in additional dogmas, Berkhof stated, "Since the dogma of the Church is not the fruit of a mechanical construction but rather of an organic growth, the study of its history cannot afford to limit its attention to the clearly defined results obtained at various times, but must also consider the intervening stages with their promise of even better and richer fruits".⁷¹ Hence, any claim to limit theology to a fixed set of (fundamentalist) principles is questionable because of the discoveries about the historical, scientific, and spiritual aspects of God's revelation which will be made after these principles have been formulated. A fixed approach that supposedly contains all doctrines of Christianity, while denying that God's revelation is known through various avenues, needs to be questioned since it is incompatible with divine law and apt to contribute to a distorted image of God's revelation. Scripture contains many themes, ranging from the ontology of God and the universe to moral standards and, therefore, it requires numerous challenges. In regard to the importance of individual experience of revelation, John Leith noted "The disciples of Jesus experienced the presence of God in Jesus Christ in a way that has been decisive for Christians ever since. Yet it is possible that later Christians, as they have lived the life of faith in changing contexts and as they have reflected in study, have discovered meaning and

⁶⁹ Louis Berkhof, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

significance that even the first disciples could never have perceived or articulated.... Faith in God can be enhanced, deepened, and broadened by intellectual reflection".⁷² Doctrine is human understanding of personal encounters with divine revelation since Scripture is after all a record of God's contact with humanity. In this view, God's divine authority and our human integrity are preserved and Scripture remains consistent with its authenticity and tradition by the use of human intelligence.

3.1.3. The Relevance for Present-day Fundamentalism of Reconstructing the Relationship Between Doctrine and Practice

Is it possible to think that Christian doctrine itself means anything without its practical implications? Fundamentalists' lack of understanding of social reality is due to their partial understanding of the nature of Reformed theology which consists of both doctrine and practice. In this section, I will discuss this part of the nature of Reformed theology, while examining a number of theologians' understandings of Reformed theology, in order to suggest the necessity for present-day fundamentalism to reconstruct the relationship between doctrine and practice. Again, this work involves Browning's point that new horizon of meaning is fused when questions from present practice (present-day Korean fundamentalism) is brought to the central Christian witness (Calvinism).

Fundamentalism, as one can see from Hyung-ryong Park and his followers' criticism of the WCC's social concerns is particularly focused on a doctrinal faith which does not find appropriate ways to articulate its beliefs.⁷³ In this respect, fundamentalist theology, as a whole, needs to be re-formulated and this will have implications for Reformed theology.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 24.

⁷² John H. Leith, *Basic Christian Doctrine*, Kentucky: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993, p. 16.

⁷³ Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. IX*, op. cit., p. 105. See also Eui-hwan Kim, op. cit., p. 177.

John Leith comments that Presbyterian churches take doctrines more seriously than other Protestant denominations for two reasons: their Reformed tradition and the nature of faith itself.⁷⁴ He insists that Presbyterian (Reformed) Christians have been distinguished by their emphatic adherence to serving God. This shows an inconsistency between contemporary Korean fundamentalism, which is largely Presbyterian, and Reformed tradition. The Reformed tradition does not entitle one to marginalise Christianity into mere doctrines which lack practical implications. Present-day Korean fundamentalism's adherence to the five essential doctrines results a narrowing of Calvinism's practical theology.⁷⁵ Calvinism is significant in itself as a theology which aims towards the glorification of God. This is to say that neither doctrine nor practice is Calvinism's ultimate goal: instead they are means through which God's glory should be revealed. The central beliefs of Reformed theology is found in its emphasis of God's revelation as manifested in the words and works of Jesus Christ. More clearly, the principle of the Reformation was that the truth of the gospel is made known by taking action following the guidance of the Holy Spirit. In fact, Reformed theologians' religious and theological convictions were influenced by Christian humanism, and their ideas of faith were influential in shaping contemporary society. The Reformed concepts of *sola gracia*, *sola fide*, and *sola Scriptura* are not indifferent to an individual's faith. In *The Homily on Salvation*, which was popularised in English parish churches at the time of Thomas Cranmer, explains that three things must emerge in human justification: "God's grace, Christ's offering, and our true and lively faith in the merits of Christ, which yet is not ours but God's working in us".⁷⁶ Following this statement Marianne H. Micks commented "simply believing that the articles of faith about Christ are true is

⁷⁴ John H. Leith, op. cit, p. 14.

⁷⁵ Bok-yun Shin, "The Comparison of Evangelicalism, Fundamentalism and Reformation" in *Ministry and Theology*, Seoul, 1992 (Aug.), p. 74.

⁷⁶ Marianne H. Micks, *Introduction to Theology*, New York: The Seabury Press, 1964, pp.126-127.

not enough; even devils believe them and still remain devils. True Christian faith is defined as 'a sure trust and confidence in God's merciful promises'".⁷⁷

Sure confidence in God's promises comes within man's range of possible responses to doctrinal faith and good works play important roles in demonstrating one's faith in God. Good works, according to Reformed tradition, can never guarantee salvation, but they are essential to Christian life. When the apostle Paul recommended that Christians to "continue to work out" their salvation with "fear and trembling" (Php. 2:12), he was not saying that they would merit salvation from their own efforts. Rather, Paul knew that the Philippians were already born-again Christians, and he was suggesting that they should live according to Christian principles.⁷⁸ Christian life is not to be confined to doctrinal faith, but is practical in that it accurately manifests an individual's faith. Dealing with faith and work in relation to the doctrine of justification and sanctification, Luther stated: "The man of faith, without being driven, willingly and gladly seeks to do good to everyone, suffer all kinds of hardships, for the sake of the love and glory of the God who has shown him such grace. It is impossible, indeed, to separate works from faith, just as it is impossible to separate heat and light from fire".⁷⁹

John Dillenberger and Claude Welch affirmed that neither Luther nor Calvin believed that the presence of Christ's power in a believer's life is an end in itself.⁸⁰ They insist that the reformers did not speak against good works be done by believers, but against a false understanding of the role of works: Their true role is shown in the following statement by Calvin: "For justification is withdrawn from works, not that no good works may be done, or that what is done may be denied to be good, but that we may not rely upon them, glory in them or ascribe salvation to

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ John Calvin, *Calvin's Commentaries: The Epistles of Paul The Apostle to the Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians and Colossians*, Trans. T.H.L. Parker, Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1965, p. 256.

⁷⁹ Marianne H. Micks, op. cit., pp. 127-128.

⁸⁰ John Dillenberger and Claude Welch, *Protestant Christianity*, New York: Macmillan Pub. Co., 1988, p. 31.

them”.⁸¹ Calvin went on to say that good works cannot of themselves guarantee salvation but that they are signs of faith in God. Contemporary Korean fundamentalism’s favoritism of doctrines over practical theological provisions, therefore, differs from Reformed tradition, which speaks of ‘faith not without works’. The Reformed tradition, according to Dillenberger and Welch, rejects any claim that faith is an additional element to works or vice versa, because these “alternatives destroy the vitality which the reformers saw in the proper relation between faith and action”.⁸²

Examining John Calvin’s own understanding of the relationship between doctrine and practice will promote our understanding of why fundamentalists’ beliefs and practices are incoherent with Calvin’s ideas. While discussing James 2:14, which speaks of the importance of works, Calvin stated that works are necessary to verify one’s righteousness: “James does not mean that man acquires righteousness with God, even in the minutest degree, by the merit of works; he is only treating of the approval of righteousness (James 2:21)”.⁸³ Calvin emphasised that man could not achieve righteousness by his own efforts. However, man’s works are evidence of whether or not they are righteous. In other words, Calvin’s understanding of James’ emphasis on works is not inconsistent with Paul’s teaching of justification by faith, because James did not say “if a man has faith without works”, but “if he says that he has faith”.⁸⁴ Thus, James’ aim was to point out false faith which is not accompanied by good works. Genuine faith, hence, as Calvin himself believed “... that not only ourselves, but our works also, are justified by faith alone”, naturally brings about good works.⁸⁵ What Calvin portrays in his teachings about God’s grace and justification by faith is that faith in Christ never fails to demonstrate its beauty through good works. Fundamentalists seem to

⁸¹ Ibid. See also John Calvin, *Institutes*, III, 17, 1.

⁸² Ibid., p. 35.

⁸³ John Calvin, *Tracts and Treatises in Defence of the Reformed Faith*, Edinburgh & London: Oliver and Boyd, 1851, p. 247.

⁸⁴ John Calvin, *Institutes*, III, 17, 11. See also Ford L. Battles, op. cit., p. 232; Hugh Y. Reyburn, *John Calvin: His Life, Letters, and Work*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1914, p. 357.

disregard or disfavour Christian practice, i.e. good works, and over-emphasise faith on its own. This contradicts Calvinism's idea that good works are genuine evidence that one has true faith.

According to Calvin, the significance of good works in the Christian scheme is that by them believers correspond to God's grace. The following statement by Calvin shows that he understood good works to be a part of the Christian life.

But Scripture, to conduct us to this, reminds us, that whatever we obtain from the Lord is granted on the condition of our employing it for the common good of the Church, and that, therefore, the legitimate use of all our gifts is a kind and liberal communication of them with others. There cannot be a surer rule, nor a stronger exhortation to the observance of it, than when we are taught that all the endowments which we possess are divine deposits instructed to us for the very purpose of being distributed for the good of our neighbour.⁸⁵

Calvin believed that God has granted believers with faith and works (gifts) purely so that they will legitimately use them to interact with others. This idea concerns Christian practice which itself is also a part of Christian life. Calvin himself acknowledged how difficult it is to perform the duty of seeking the good of our neighbours (I Cor. 13:4). However, he believed that since everything in our good works is directed by the Spirit of Christ, "we become partakers of the divine nature, so as in the manner to feel his quickening energy within us".⁸⁷ Calvin realised that no believer applies their gifts for their own private use, but uses them for the common edification of the church. "Let this, then", he said, "be our method of showing good will and kindness, considering that, in regard to everything which God has bestowed upon us, and by which we can aid our neighbour, we are his stewards, and are bound to give account of our stewardship; moreover, that the only right mode of administration is that which is regulated by love".⁸⁸ Calvin's statement about applying God's gifts implies two meanings: (1) that faith is to be exercised through sharing the love of God with our neighbours (including non-

⁸⁵ Ibid., III, 17, 10. See also Ford L. Battles, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

⁸⁶ Ibid., III, 7, 5. See also Ford L. Battles, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

⁸⁷ Ibid., I, 13, 14. See also Ford L. Battles, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

⁸⁸ Ibid., III, 7, 5. See also Ford L. Battles, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

Christians) and (2) that our works should be carefully guided by the Holy Spirit. Hence, Christian practice (or works) is based on love for God and others, and this directly challenges present-day Korean fundamentalism since it does not give enough attention to why God has bestowed His gifts to us. As Calvin had clarified (along with Paul) that gifts are not for one's own private use, but are for the common edification of the church, Christian doctrines are not privately-owned elements which fundamentalism can determine from its own theological perspectives, because doctrines have a deeper meaning than fundamentalists' idea of a personal confession.

Cranmer also believed that good works are a necessary result of true faith: "we do not mean that we should be idle and that nothing is required on our part afterward".⁸⁹ He understood that faith in Christ must bring forth a corresponding practical Christian life. Christian practice is, hence, individuals' creative responses toward God's revelation. It tries to ensure that God is revealed to humankind in such a way that they can further concretise His existence and will by practicing their faith. Christians are obliged to act in the light of God's revelation. Christian doctrine is directly linked to the real situation of individual Christians, as people who lead and interact with their communities. The validity of a doctrine in a Christian community depends on its capacity to be applied to real life situations. Practice is universal in the sense that it can exemplify doctrines to anyone. Ideas remain abstract unless they are put into action. In this respect, Christian practice specifies and asserts the meaning of a doctrine as God's communication with human beings. Practice creates Christianity's relationship with the world. Practice activates the Christian doctrine both in the church and in society. Practice has previously taken the forms of various styles of worship and ministries. Now it is directed toward cultural and social reality, where God's revelation is also needed by critical reflection of the relationship between the church and the world.

⁸⁹ Marianne H. Micks, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

Such a rebalance of doctrine and practice requires an explanation of how Christian practice is most appropriately 'done' i.e. how Christians can communicate the meaning of doctrine to non-Christians. God's revelation is presented to humanity in the form of direct personal contact and divine intervention in history.⁹⁰ More specifically, it is explicitly articulated in Jesus Christ and the Bible which the church perceives to be the ultimate source of revelation. The Bible has been continuously taught by the church, and continues to be shown to individuals and communities by the church. While confronting and interacting with cultural transitions and social phenomena, the church has learned to respond to such realities with specific forms of practice. Practical witness of the gospel occurs in a multiplicity of cultural and social contexts. While it does see the gospel as an axis of Christian practice, present-day Korean fundamentalism still needs to understand how Christianity is to be spread further in today's society.

3.1.4. Concluding Remarks

So far, I have examined the extent to which present-day Korean fundamentalism follows Reformed theology. I have pointed out that present-day Korean fundamentalism's view of Scripture (as far as divine authority is concerned), God's sovereignty and His grace is similar to those of Calvin. However, I have noted how present-day Korean fundamentalism's concept of biblical inerrancy differs from Calvin's idea of the Bible. The fact that Calvin did not use the term 'biblical inerrancy' in his work shows how he was careful in perceiving the Bible as divine word but not error-free. I have further commented that present-day Korean fundamentalism's doctrinal reductionism contrasts with Reformed theology. Reformed theology creates a space for a broad spectrum of Christian theology. Finally, I have discussed which aspects of present-day Korean fundamentalism are doctrine-oriented and why it needs to reconstruct the theological relationship between doctrine and practice in the light of Reformed theology. I have argued that

⁹⁰ Thomas F. Torrance, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

present-day Korean fundamentalism's inclination towards doctrine, without heeding its practical implications, creates difficulties for the church's mission.

In the next section, I focus on the degree of theological notions which present-day Korean fundamentalism maintains from earlier fundamentalist theology and mentality. I argue that Korean fundamentalism continues to believe that the purpose of the church is to live independently of culture. Relying on Calvin's ideas of the church in relation to politics and social matters, I contend that present-day Korean fundamentalism's idea of separation between church and culture unbalances God's mission and cultural mandates. I also discuss present-day Korean fundamentalism's understanding of church-state independence. Considering both Puritanism's and Calvin's notions of church-state relationships, I argue that present-day Korean fundamentalism does not specifically follow the thoughts of earlier tradition. The last, but not least, point is present-day Korean fundamentalism's continual adherence to the doctrine of biblical inerrancy. I discuss how present-day Korean fundamentalism became so deeply involved in this doctrine and why it believes this doctrine is 'orthodox' Christian view.

3.2. The Influence of Fundamentalism on the Present-day Korean Church

In the previous section, I discussed how present-day Korean fundamentalism has large, encompassing themes and vision latent in it. I also commented how present-day Korean fundamentalism's doctrinal reductionism incompatible with Calvin and, hence, how it needs to consider reconstructing the relationship between its doctrine and its practice. I suggested that present-day Korean fundamentalism's trying to follow Calvin's important doctrinal points is the latent vision. Following Calvin and some Calvinist scholars, present-day Korean fundamentalism maintains the divine authority of the Bible. It also believes, following Calvin, in God's sovereignty and His grace over all creatures. These beliefs are not problematic to most Korean Christians since they were brought up in Presbyterian backgrounds. However, I argued that present-day Korean fundamentalism's emphasis, which is based on its rationalistic theological methodology, on the doctrine of biblical inerrancy does not exactly follow Calvin; Calvin's belief in Scripture's divine authority was not based on this methodology but on the idea that Scripture was testified by the Holy Spirit. To provide detailed information on how present-day Korean fundamentalism raises theological and practical questions as a result of its 'ancestry', I now examine some aspects which present-day Korean fundamentalism contrasts to Calvin's theology.

This task involves Browning's suggestion that developing criteria for testing the practical validity claims of the Christian faith is the task of systematic theology. In this section, Christian faith is identified as present-day Korean fundamentalism's need to act out its doctrinal faith, while the criteria for the validity claims of this Christian faith are Calvin's teachings of the Christian church in intimate relationships with culture and states. As discussion goes on, I will demonstrate which point present-day Korean fundamentalism depart from Calvinism and thus need to learn from central Christian witness to meet the needs of Korean society. The order of discussion is as follows: firstly, I deal with present-day Korean

fundamentalism's understanding of church and culture. Present-day Korean fundamentalism views human culture as a negative influence due to its secular ideas. Hence, it tends to isolate itself from society and undertakes no significant mission activities which would promote social innovation. I argue that this is neither Calvin's intention nor the church's purpose. Secondly, I discuss present-day Korean fundamentalism's understanding of church and state. Unlike Calvin, who taught about the church's role in relation to the state, and Puritanism, which showed great concern with church-state relationships, present-day Korean fundamentalism believes that the church needs to stay away from politics and should only focus on confessional and narrative aspects of mission work. Thirdly, I point out that present-day Korean fundamentalism's approach to the biblical inerrancy doctrine is similar to that of older fundamentalism. I argue that this doctrine has departed from Calvin's teaching and hence cannot be viewed as following Christian tradition.

3.2.1. Fundamentalism's understanding of church and culture

I use the term 'culture' to mean integrated pattern of human knowledge, belief and behaviour, consisting of languages, ideas, customs, codes, techniques, works of art, and other related components.¹ Although Calvin did not specifically use the term 'culture(s)' anywhere in his work, his extensive discussions on the relationship between church and state, church and society, science, arts and the life-principle of believers (as described in *Institutes III*), imply that he perceived that the divine principle of government should be applied to every aspect of human life.² There are more questions here than can be addressed in this thesis, but I focus on Calvin's consideration of Christian life in the world, relying on some Calvinist scholars' work in this area. In light of Calvin's understanding of Christian life, present-day Korean fundamentalism is challenged to re-examine the Christian life in relation to

¹ *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Vol. 3, Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1974, p. 784.

² John Calvin, III, chapters 6, 10, 19; IV, 20. See also A. Dakin, *Calvinism*, op. cit., pp. 218-221; Wilhelm Niesel, *The Theology of Calvin*, op. cit., pp. 229-240.

church and culture (civil government, society, economics, science, arts and etc.), in order to carry out its ministry both inside and outside the church.

Korean fundamentalist theology claims to base itself on Calvin's theology of the 16th century and the Puritan theology of the 17th century (such as the theology of the Separatists who fled England between 1607 and 1609). While criticising neo-fundamentalism, new evangelicalism, dispensationalism and Pentecostalism as fake forms of conservatism, Aaron Park claims that the theology of the *Hap Dong* conservative³ Presbyterian church is the 'orthodox' (upright) theology which was introduced by the American missionaries in the nineteenth century.⁴

It [Puritan Reformed Theology] is a faithful continuation of John Calvin's Reformed theology as well as a theology which follows the Westminster Confession of Faith and the Larger and the Shorter Catechism which were composed by 17th century English Puritan theologians. Furthermore, it is on the one hand, an upright theology (orthodox) which does not lean towards liberalism which denies biblical inspiration and, on the other hand, is a theology that does not lean towards mysticism such as prophecy and speaking in tongues.⁵

Aaron Park, thus, assures his readers that the theology of Chong Shin Seminary is based on Puritan Reformed theology. He points to biblical inspiration as a major theme of Reformed theology, while he refers to the Westminster Confession of Faith and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms as the core of Puritan theology. Aaron Park's statements need to be examined in the light of Reformed tradition. Hence, my aims in this chapter are firstly to consider points at which present-day fundamentalism is less than faithful to Calvin's teachings with regard to the church's relationship with human life (culture) and secondly, to examine whether

³ Aaron Park, *Conservative Trends in Contemporary Theology*, op. cit., p. 271. Aaron Park uses the term 'conservative' to distinguish fundamentalists from those affiliated with the WCC and NCC; Aaron Park rejects such affiliation.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 27-115. Aaron Park is currently an acting president of Chong Shin Theological Seminary. Since he believes that the American missionaries were orthodox Christians who adhered to Reformed faith and the five fundamental doctrines, and since Chong Shin Seminary (which is one of the largest seminaries in Korea) strictly bases its theology upon those missionaries' teachings and Hyung-ryong Park's dogmatic theology, it follows that the fundamentalist atmosphere of the seminary produces many fundamentalist church leaders in Korea today (ibid., p. 272).

⁵ Ibid., p. 282.

Puritanism's understanding of the relationship between church and state is fully articulated in present-day Korean fundamentalism.

As far as doctrine is concerned, I argue that present-day fundamentalism is in the main consistent with Calvin's theology but does not follow all aspects of Calvin's theology. Calvin implied that Christians have responsibility to both deny themselves (since this mortal life is nothing but misery)⁶ and to use the good things of life in accordance with the intentions of their creator.⁷ In contrast, present-day fundamentalism generally has a negative attitude towards human life (culture) and seems to lack Calvinism's practical attitude in relation to culture.⁸ I say this because although Aaron Park does not wholly oppose culture (e.g. he says that "the reason why neo-fundamentalism lacks in cultural concern and social participation is because it has been deeply influenced by Pietism and Dispensationalism"),⁹ however, when he goes on to argue that the "human soul is more valuable than culture",¹⁰ he effectively denies that God's saving grace is, or can be, manifested in and through culture.

In order to consider why Korean fundamentalist theology prefers the transcultural to the cultural implications of Christianity, I examine some present-day fundamentalist theologians' arguments on this subject and Calvin's comments on divine ministry in human life (culture). The two points which need to be discussed are: (1) how present-day Korean fundamentalism's view of natural law differs from Calvin's view, and (2) how present-day Korean fundamentalism's tendency to isolate itself from the society differs from Calvin's notion of Christian life. Although it is possible that interpretations of Calvin's meaning of natural law may vary between Calvinist scholars, I argue that the majority of them do not agree with Korean fundamentalism's belief that the church should separate itself from culture.

⁶ John Calvin, *Institutes*, III, 9, 4. See also Thomas F. Torrance, *The Hermeneutics of John Calvin*, op. cit., p. 65.

⁷ John Calvin, III, 19, 9.

⁸ I have discussed earlier in the chapter why Korean fundamentalist theology is not purely Calvinistic, by comparing it with Calvin's own understanding of doctrine and practice.

⁹ Aaron Park, op. cit., pp. 30-31.

This analysis follows firstly from Calvin's teaching on grace and divine providence, and secondly from a few Calvinist scholars' interpretation of Calvin's natural law.

First of all, present-day fundamentalism's tendency to avoid engagement with human culture is based on its claim that mission mandate is superior to cultural mandate. Its antipathy toward culture is described in Aaron Park's discussions about Christian philosophy held by the Free University of Amsterdam. Although Aaron Park appears to appreciate natural theology¹¹ which bases its theory upon divine cosmic law, he actually rejects it because "such an idea posits God's cultural mandate (Gen. 1:28) [being] on the same level of His mission mandate (Matt. 28:19-20)".¹² Aaron Park dislikes the idea that God's cultural mandate is juxtaposed with His mission mandate because, to his mind, supernatural redemptive Christology is superior to cultural understanding of God's revelation as seen in the pattern of divine cosmic law. He stated that "what needs to be clarified is that we are now living in the 'age of salvation' which Christ's substitutionary atonement death and his resurrection have brought to us, rather than living in the 'time of cosmic subjugation' which comes from God's cultural mandate".¹³ Hence, for Aaron Park, emphasising 'the concept of divine cosmic law' is liable to lead to the same 'faults' which Catholicism displays in its 'natural theology'.¹⁴ Although Aaron Park's statements demonstrate that he is very concerned not to replace 'theology of revelation' (which is centred on Christ's salvation work) with 'natural theology' (which is based on divine cosmic law), his negative determination of

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 148.

¹¹ Since natural theology, in this particular context, denotes theology that is based on divine cosmic law revealed in nature, it is noteworthy that Calvin understood that nature is another important source of revelation alongside the Scriptures and Jesus Christ (John Calvin, I, 2, 1). See also Ronald S. Wallace, *Calvin's Doctrine of the Word and Sacrament*, op. cit., pp. 65-66. God's self-revelation which takes place in nature and history shows that God created the universe and continues to preserve it. Calvin supports this idea by mentioning astronomy, philosophy, medicine and political science (John Calvin, *Calvin: Commentaries Vol. XXIII*, trans. Joseph Haroutunian and Louise P. Smith, London: SCM Press LTD., 1958, p. 355; Ronald Wallace, op. cit., pp. 67-68).

¹² Aaron Park, op. cit., pp. 252-253.

¹³ Ibid., p. 253.

¹⁴ Ibid.

cosmology and realism (which are essential parts to reason God) does not seem to follow Calvin's idea of divine government.

For Calvin, the term 'natural law' seems to mean 'universally distributed', known to all mankind: "If the Gentiles by nature have law righteousness engraved upon their minds we surely cannot say they are utterly blind as to the conduct of life. There is nothing more common than for a man to be sufficiently instructed in a right standard of conduct by natural law (of which the apostle is here speaking). Let us consider, however, for what purpose men have been endowed with this knowledge of the law".¹⁵ Paul Helm suggests that Calvin used the term 'natural law' in the sense of "a law that is not in fact specially (i.e. verbally) revealed by God, though one that is revealable".¹⁶ He further explained that Calvin understood the law of nature as "that law of God concerning man's relationship to God, and the relationship of man with each other which is known by all human beings".¹⁷ Helm interprets Calvin's natural law as something which exists in the mind of everyone. This law, according to Helm's understanding of Calvin, is a part of divine law.

Calvin believed that the purpose of the natural law is to make man inexcusable before God: "The purpose of natural law, therefore, is to render man inexcusable. This would not be a bad definition: natural law is that apprehension of the conscience which distinguishes sufficiently between the just and unjust..."¹⁸ Calvin maintained that people are instructed by natural law how to live rightly.¹⁹ This instruction, for Calvin, is carried out by the testimony of conscience. However, Calvin assures his readers that natural law does not give full knowledge of divine will: "As man is enclosed by the darkness of error, the natural law gives him scarce an inkling of the kind of service which is pleasing to God".²⁰ This is to say that humanity's knowledge, in our fallen state, makes us less able to distinguish between

¹⁵ John Calvin, II, 2, 22; Paul Helm, "Calvin and Natural Law" in *The Organizational Structure of Calvin's Theology*, ed. Richard C. Gamble, New York & London: Garland Pub. Inc., 1992, p. 178.

¹⁶ Paul Helm, op. cit., p. 178.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ John Calvin, II, 2, 22.

¹⁹ Ibid., See also Wilhelm Niesel, *The Theology of Calvin*, op. cit., p. 102.

good and evil. While not completely ignored in Calvin's mind, human reason has partly weakened: "Since reason, therefore, by which man distinguishes between good and evil, and by which he understands and judges, is a natural gift, it could not be completely wiped out; but it was partly weakened and partly corrupted, so that its misshapen ruins appear".²¹ Calvin suggested that, mainly because human sin has blinded us to divine will, God has given us written law.²² However, even with regard to written law, man cannot fully reach the truth: "The light of nature is long extinguished before we gain any idea of this unfathomable gulf".²³ It is for this reason that Calvin finally reached his idea of divine grace. Herman Kuiper notes: "Calvin was the first theologian who made a clear-cut distinction between common and saving grace, between the operation of the Spirit of God which are common to mankind at large and sanctifying grace which presupposes sin but does not eradicate it".²⁴ It is true that Calvin considered saving grace (Jesus' life, death, and resurrection), which present-day Korean fundamentalism also holds to, and concluded that salvation comes not from natural law but from saving grace. However, as Helm suggests, one should be cautious in judging whether or not Calvin had a positive view of natural law. Considering Calvin's understanding of the relationship between natural law and saving grace requires in-depth study, which would be the subject of another thesis. However, arguably, one thing that challenges present-day Korean fundamentalism is that "the emphasis on the natural law does not injure the law of God which is drawn up in holy Scripture: on the contrary, it suggests to us the necessity of the divine law of the covenant which has its basis in Jesus Christ".²⁵

²⁰ John Calvin, II, 8, 1; Wilhelm Niesel, op. cit., p. 102.

²¹ John Calvin, II, 2, 12; Wilhelm Niesel, op. cit., p. 102.

²² John Calvin, II, 8, 1.

²³ John Calvin, II, 2, 24.

²⁴ Stanley S. Harakas, *The Natural Law Teaching in the Ante-Nicene Fathers and in Modern Greek Orthodox Theology*, Michigan: University Microfilms, Inc., 1966, p. 67. See also Herman Kuiper, *Calvin and Common Grace*, Michigan: Smitter Book Co., 1928, p. 2.

²⁵ Wilhelm Niesel, op. cit., p. 103.

Common grace, according to Calvin, teaches that God has endowed humankind with various gifts which can be used to benefit human communities. Stanley S. Harakas' analysis of Herman Kuiper's work on *Calvin and Common Grace* shows that Calvin perceived human life itself as a gift of divine grace.²⁶ For instance, Calvin's concern for civil government implies that he believed that God takes care of the human race.²⁷ Furthermore, nature which witnesses to God's existence is "an expression of God's free gift to man, even though it is insufficient".²⁸ God's providence which Calvin emphatically discussed in his *Institutes* also signify divine grace.²⁹

Charles Hodge, a prominent theologian of Old Princeton School, followed Calvin's understanding that the uniformity of the laws of nature are consistent with the doctrine of providence: "The Scriptures recognise the fact that the laws of nature are immutable; that they are the ordinances of God; that they are uniform in their operation... But as man within his sphere can use these fixed laws to accomplish the most diversified purposes, so God in his unlimited sphere has them always and everywhere under his absolute control, so that, without suspending or violating them, they are ever subservient to his will".³⁰ Hodge did not accept the theories of the Remonstrants and the deists of modern times since they believed "God created all things and determined that they should continue [i.e. under this initial impetus, rather than continually being guided by God] in being according to the laws which He impressed upon them at the beginning".³¹

Both Calvin and Hodge believed in the need for continued divine intervention in creation. Calvin believed that the creative activity of God is seen in His continuous perseverance and cherishing of the world. Calvin claimed:

²⁶ Stanley S. Harakas, op. cit., p. 68.

²⁷ John Calvin, IV, 20, 1; Stanley S. Harakas, op. cit., p. 68.

²⁸ John Calvin, I, 5, 10; I, 5, 14; Stanley S. Harakas, op. cit., p. 68.

²⁹ Stanley S. Harakas, op. cit., p. 68.

³⁰ Charles Hodge, *Systematic Theology Vol. 1*, London and Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1873, p. 609.

³¹ Ibid., p. 576.

After learning that there is a Creator, it [one] must forthwith infer that he is also a Governor and Preserver, and that, not by producing a kind of general motion in the machine of the globe as well as in each of its parts, but by a special Providence sustaining, cherishing, superintending, all the things which he has made, to the very minutest, even to a sparrow... In general, indeed, philosophers teach, and the human mind conceives, that all the parts of the world are invigorated by the secret inspiration of God.³²

It is because of modern deists' ideas that "God sits on his throne in the heavens", while merely being a "spectator of the world and of its operation" that Hodge rejected any assertion which presupposed God having no direct effect in sustaining His creation.³³ Hence, God's mission mandate (Christ-centric) and cultural mandate (nature, history, event, and reason) are inseparably related to each other. God's revelation is explicitly manifested within the mutual interaction of the supernatural and the natural i.e. divine incarnation in the form of human flesh. It is at least arguable that Aaron Park's claim that the mission mandate is superior to cultural mandate contrasts Calvin's idea that both are crucial to understanding divine will.

The second reason why present-day fundamentalism avoids discussing culture is because it emphasises 'God's future kingdom' over 'God's inaugurated kingdom'. This implies that earthly life or culture in itself has no significance. Due to inconsistency between contemporary fundamentalists' actions and their belief in Calvinism, some negative characteristics have appeared in the Korean church. Rather than seeking and following the biblical truth it pursued in the first place, it leans towards seclusionism. Against his critics, Aaron Park explains that if there is any problem in present-day fundamentalism then it is not found in its theology, but in some fundamentalists' "secularism, unsound streams of consciousness, indifference to socio-psychological problems, and strong tendency towards exclusivism under the pretext of piety".³⁴ As one can see from Aaron Park's statement, the present-day fundamentalist church often fails to maintain its true

³² John Calvin, I, 16, 1. See also Ford L. Battles, *Analysis of the Institutes of the Christian Religion of John Calvin*, op. cit., p. 74.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Aaron Park, op. cit., p. 230.

identity as 'the people of God' (Heb. 4:9; 11:25; I Pet. 2:10), or 'the body of Christ' (I Cor. 12:27; Eph. 4:15-16), mainly because it mis-perceives or mis-inherited Reformed tradition and so isolated itself from cultural reality because of its pessimistic views about culture. A contemporary theologian Duk-joo Lee points out fundamentalism's rejection of 'social responsibilities' i.e. its criticism of those who were involved in the national patriotic movement during the Japanese colonial period. Lee also says that its "extreme eschatological views resulted in an escape from reality".³⁵ Furthermore, Gil-sop Song claims that fundamentalist theology in Korea has been "bureaucratic and dualistic, preferring tradition over progress, and strict separation of theology, church and religion from philosophy, society and culture, rather than emphasising their congruities".³⁶

These statements suggest that Present-day fundamentalism's adherence to (the theory of) God's coming kingdom, based on classic premillennialism, leads it to separate the reality of church's necessary for cultural engagement from active participation. This is reinforced by the fact that, following Hyung-ryong Park, Aaron Park believes in classic premillennialism, which he distinguishes it from dispensational premillennialism. In regards to the rapture theory of October 1992 (which was viewed by the majority of Protestants as an unbiblical movement), Aaron Park comments that it is "an incident which demonstrates a mystic self-portrait of ultra-fundamentalist faith".³⁷ He says that the cause of this was false teachings of dispensationalism and Pentecostalism. He says that "prophesying the exact date of the beginning of the seven-years rapture on the basis of 'subjective revelational experience' is actually a blending of mysticism with dispensational eschatology".³⁸ Aaron Park understands that ultra-Fundamentalists are apt to make false assertions since they are inclined to subjectivism (idealism) and mysticism

³⁵ Duk-joo Lee, "The Korean Church and Fundamentalism: The Korean Historical Standpoint" in *Korean Christian Thought*, ed. by The Korean Church History Research Centre, Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1997, p. 40.

³⁶ Gil-sop Song, *Korean Theological Thought*, Seoul: Korean Christian Pub. Co., 1982, p. 328.

³⁷ Aaron Park, op. cit., p. 322.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 323.

(human's direct knowledge of God which is obtained through religious experience in this world).³⁹ He seems to make a distinction between a 'right' understanding of premillennialism (i.e. classic premillennialism) and a 'wrong' understanding (i.e. dispensational premillennialism). However, a tendency to bring people's attention to 'other-worldliness', as distinct from important aspects of life on earth, emerges not solely among the ultra-fundamentalists but also within the teachings of fundamentalism. Bok-yun Shin, who has been a fundamentalist, stated "The early Korean Presbyterian church inherited Puritan Reformed theology from the missionaries. However, as time passed by, this theology became blended with defective thoughts, such as Pietism, Mysticism, Dispensationalism and Fundamentalism, which brought confusion to biblical thoughts. The fundamentalist phenomenon in the Korean Presbyterian church is a theology which does not fully understand God's general blessing".⁴⁰

Present-day Korean fundamentalism's strict defence of the church against contemporary culture is also revealed in the following statements by Eui-hwan Kim: "the acceptance of mysticism in the Korean church resulted in creating churches from which this society turns away, due to the church's other-worldliness which led them to ignore their responsibilities in this world".⁴¹ Kim speaks of Christianity's decline in today's society being due to the church's insufficient understanding of culture. He further notes that "the Korean church has been concentrating on the coming Kingdom of God, while separating itself from the secular world".⁴² He points out the negativity of regarding this world as secular and the accompanying retreat from the world to remain in 'holy places' (such as churches and prayer mountains). In fact, Calvin exhorted his readers to progressively realise God's

³⁹ Ibid., pp. 322-323.

⁴⁰ Bok-yun Shin, "The Comparison Between Evangelicalism, Fundamentalism and Reformation" in *Ministry and Theology*, 1992 (Aug), p. 73.

⁴¹ Eui-hwan Kim, *The Conservative Theology is Challenged*. Seoul: Sang Myung Eui Mal Sum Sa, 1992. p. 161.

⁴² Eui-hwan Kim, op. cit., p. 161.

kingdom in history (culture).⁴³ John Leith interprets Calvin's idea as follows: "His [Calvin's] insistence that the kingdom is not earthly does not nullify the existence of the kingdom in and through history. It simply means that the kingdom does not find its fruition in history and in the form of an earthly power. The historical deeds which belong to the reign of God have real significance, for they belong to a reality which is in history but also beyond history".⁴⁴

This idea of Calvin reminds us of the biblical teachings that the church is in the midst of the world, and its ultimate mission is to engage with the people in that community, so that they may confront the reality of Christianity (II Cor. 5:17-20).⁴⁵ Calvin was convinced that Christian life is true to its origin and destiny only when it is communal. In the *Institutes* he wrote: "As man is naturally a creature inclined to society, he has also by nature an instinctive propensity to cherish and preserve that society".⁴⁶ Calvin's emphasis on believers' lives in relation to society reminds his readers that the church needs to be aware of the existing society in order to preserve it according to God's sovereign rule. This also indicates that believers in Christ have same responsibility for human culture. Calvin's point of departure is centred round the community of the elect which is chosen by divine grace in order to restore human beings from depravity to God's image. This restoration is not simply confined to the Christian community but, according to Leith: "the life of the Christian in the church cannot be detached from life in the larger community of humankind as a whole. Each community has its origin in the paternal love of God, and for this reason the church cannot turn its back on the larger human community".⁴⁷

⁴³ John Calvin, III, 20, 42.

⁴⁴ John H. Leith, *John Calvin's Doctrine of Christian Life*, op. cit., p. 174.

⁴⁵ Won-kyu Lee comments that fundamentalists' negative view of reality creates problems such as ignoring responsibility towards the world by over-emphasising divine providence and eschatological consciousness (Won-kyu Lee, "A Socio-religious Perspective of Fundamentalism" in *Christian Thought*, 1995 [Mar], p. 20).

⁴⁶ John Calvin, II, 2, 13; John H. Leith, op. cit., p. 166.

⁴⁷ John H. Leith, op. cit., p. 167.

Based on its dualistic views, the present-day Korean fundamentalist church maintains that it is the only place where its own believers to “work out their salvation with fear and trembling” (Php. 2:12). However, does the church exist solely for the sake of its own believers? Perhaps it does but more it is likely, that it stands for the people of God who struggle to maintain their faith before God. A good example for this is found in the apostle Paul’s portrayal of the church and its body as the servant of the gospel in the world (Col. 1:18-24). Paul perceived that being the body of Christ necessitates striving not only for one’s own faith but also for that of others for whose salvation Christ gave his life.⁴⁸ In other words, Christians should never be unaware of social reality. The present-day fundamentalist church which Kim describes as “a monastery-like church with its door open”,⁴⁹ needs to realise that to be God’s child means to be a social being in the midst of the world. The church has the responsibility and right to have concerns about social problems in order to further its mission.

3.2.2. Fundamentalism’s understanding of church and state

As noted earlier, Aaron Park has stated that Chong Shin seminary’s theology is based on the Puritan Reformed theology of the 17th century. As I have discussed in chapter two, this theological position was also held by Hyung-ryong Park as he defended fundamentalism against liberalism. Hence, following Hyung-ryong Park, present-day Korean fundamentalism promotes some aspects of Puritanism’s life principles. For example, Aaron Park states that “the Korean Presbyterian church contains practical theology which emphasises the holy life of believers such as

⁴⁸ Edward Schillebeeckx also speaks of the church’s role as being not only as the ‘speaker’ to the world, but also the ‘listener’. He noted “She [the church] has, in other words, to be fully conscious of everything that concrete man in the world—who is, whether he is implicitly or explicitly Christian, nonetheless with God in this world, because he is included in the absolute and gratuitous nearness of God who never fails to appear—demonstrates, in the experience both of the ‘secular’ world outside the church and of her own explicit believers among the laity” (Edward Schillebeeckx, *Church and World*, London: Sheed and Ward, 1971, pp. 104-105).

⁴⁹ Eui-hwan Kim, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

observing Sabbath and banning drinking and smoking".⁵⁰ This indeed does follow the lifestyles of Puritans whose lives were primarily dedicated to the holiness, righteousness and justice that God's covenant had demanded. The Puritans strictly observed the Sabbath as both a private and a public profession of their faith. The Puritans' ideal of government did not involve secular politicians but was based on believers. For example, the governments of Massachusetts and Connecticut were run on the basis of dictatorships which "never pretended to be anything else; it was a dictatorship, not of a single tyrant, or of an economic class, or of a political faction, but of a holy and regenerate [ideal]".⁵¹ Hence, the local churches played major roles in making the decisions of various political agenda. Perry Miller and Thomas Johnson claimed that one should note the background concept of church and state in Puritanism in order to understand its theory of the state and of society. They stated "the unity of religion and politics was so axiomatic that very few men would even have grasped the idea that church and state could be distinct. For the Puritan mind it was not possible to segregate a man's spiritual life from his communal life. Massachusetts was settled for religious reasons, but as John Winthrop (a governor of the American colonies in the 17th century) announced, religious reasons included 'a due forme of Government but ciuill and ecclesiasticall', and the civil was quite as important in his eyes as the ecclesiastical".⁵² This indicates that Puritans actually believed that Christians should take a part in politics. However, the dualism of Korean fundamentalism suggest that the church should be separated from the state. As has been discussed earlier, the early missionaries in Korea promoted this separation. We have seen this in Korean fundamentalist churches, during the Japanese persecution (1910-1945), which restricted the churches' participation in the national patriotic movement. Hyung-ryong Park criticised new evangelicalism for its tendency to cling to 'evangelical

⁵⁰ Aaron Park, op. cit., p. 329.

⁵¹ Perry Miller and Thomas H. Johnson, *The Puritans*, New York: American Book Company, 1938, p. 183.

⁵² Ibid., p. 181.

social ethics' which, he believed, was a secularisation of Christianity that led many people to take part in political movements.⁵³ Aaron Park also opposes the church having a political theology when he says that false understanding of God's Kingdom occurs "firstly when people perceive it [God's Kingdom] from political standpoints such as liberation from the Roman Empire or the restoration of Davidic kingdom and, secondly, when viewed from WCC's political or liberation theology which understands God's Kingdom as a liberation from poverty, oppression and tyranny".⁵⁴ Arguing that the church's primary concern is gospel preaching (which is distinct from social and political matters), Eui-hwan Kim states:

Matters such as helping the neighbours and participating in social innovations are not what the church should do directly. Rather these matters are to be done by believers, who are deeply inspired by God's saving grace and love, in a private capacity. For this reason, God has provided government and so the church should leave such matters with government and should concentrate on gospel preaching to produce newly-born persons who can participate in social affairs. The church can never be the place for political discussion or social innovation.⁵⁵

As one can see from comparing the earliest traditions of Korean fundamentalism with recent fundamentalism, the concept of politics in present-day fundamentalism is still closely related to that of early Korean fundamentalism.⁵⁶ Today's fundamentalism does not think that politics itself is evil but believes that church should have little concern with it. In his analysis of Hyung-ryong Park's fundamentalism, Yong-kyu Park, a professor of historical theology at Chong Shin Seminary, basically agrees with Hyung-ryong Park's criticism of WCC as a socio-political movement.⁵⁷ Yong-kyu Park says that Hyung-ryong Park viewed new evangelicalism as a new form of liberalism and expresses sympathy for this view. Referring to Fuller Theological Seminary in America (which many fundamentalists think is a centre of new evangelicalism), Yong-kyu Park argues that this seminary

⁵³ Hyung-ryong Park, *A Complete Works of Dr. Hyung-ryong Park Vol. IX*, op. cit., p. 107.

⁵⁴ Aaron Park, op. cit., 128.

⁵⁵ Eui-hwan Kim, op. cit., p. 210.

⁵⁶ Myung-hyek Kim, "The Task of Evangelicals Towards Liberal Theology" in *Ministry and Theology*, 1992 (Aug.), p. 114. Kim states that the Korean church has been extremely inclined towards a non-political stance.

has shifted from evangelicalism to new evangelicalism. The reason, he suggests, is that "such leaders as Edward Carnell, who wanted to identify himself as neo-evangelical, never hesitate to criticise his (fundamentalist) predecessors as if their indifference to social and cultural responsibilities were theological problems".⁵⁸

Thus, there is sufficient reason to argue that present-day fundamentalists' assertions about the church's neutral position towards political matters do not follow both apostle Paul's teachings and Calvin's beliefs. In Romans chapter 13, Paul shows what Christian duties are and how important their observance is to civilians. He teaches that preserving systems of government is a fundamental principle of God's statesmanship.⁵⁹ Hence, whoever rebels against these authorities will bring judgment on himself. However, further investigation of Romans 13 by Calvin leads to the conclusion that civil government is granted with the qualities of divine providence, protection, goodness, benevolence and justice and, therefore, the church is called on to take part in politics in order to guide governments to right ways and to cooperate with them to ensure the best outcome.⁶⁰ On the other hand, the church does need to take action about evil rulership by these authorities. Romans 13:4 says that rulers are all sanctioned by God as His servants in order to benefit human life, i.e. rulers are another form of theocracy planned by God Himself. Calvin also stated, "We have already shown that this office [magistrates] is specially assigned by God, and indeed it is right that they exert themselves in asserting and defending the honour of Him whose vicegerents they are, and by whose favour they rule".⁶¹ So rulers are 'the vicegerents of God' and must act themselves as "a kind of image of the divine providence, guardianship, goodness,

⁵⁷ Yong-kyu Park, *The Life and Thought of Dr. Hyung Nong Park*, op. cit., p. 391.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 392.

⁵⁹ See also John Calvin, *Institutes*, IV, 20, 8; John Calvin, *Calvin's Commentaries: The Epistles of Paul The Apostle to the Romans and the Thessalonians*, Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1960, pp. 280-284; Ford L. Battles, op. cit., p. 414; William C. Innes, *Social Concern in Calvin's Geneva*, Pennsylvania: Pickwick Pub., 1983, pp. 27-35.

⁶⁰ John Calvin, IV, 20, 4. See also Ford L. Battles, op. cit., p. 413.

⁶¹ Ibid., IV, 20, 9. See also Ford L. Battles, op. cit., pp. 413-414.

benevolence, and justice".⁶² According to Paul and Calvin, being God's servant or magistrate does not mean that one is born with that nature. Instead, this refers to one's function as ruler. The rulers are not God (even if they do think they are God), but His appointed servants. It seems as if the present-day fundamentalists do not realise that they have to understand what any particular government is doing i.e. whether or not that government is following God's plan.⁶³ Calvin nowhere mentioned that everyone should submit to abuse or evil emanating from magistrates. He stated that "no polity can be successfully established unless piety be its first care, and that those laws are absurd which disregard the rights of God, and consult only for men".⁶⁴ Thus, the function of the state is "to foster and maintain the external worship of God, to defend sound doctrine and the condition of the church, to adapt our conduct to human society, to form our manners to civil justice, to conciliate to each other, to cherish common peace and tranquillity".⁶⁵ In another passage Calvin noted:

Its [the state's] object is not merely, like those things, to enable men to breathe, eat, drink, and be warmed (though it certainly includes all these, while it enables them to live together); this, I say, is not its only object, but it is that no idolatry, no blasphemy against the name of God, no calumnies against his truth, nor other offences to religion, break out and be disseminated among the people; that the public quiet be not disturbed, that every man's property be kept secure, that men may carry on innocent commerce with each other, that honesty and modesty be cultivated; in short, that a public form of religion may exist among Christians, and humanity among men.⁶⁶

In Calvin's understanding of church and state, one can say that God sets up ruling systems over humanity: 1) because He is a God of order and this attribute was applied to His own creation in the beginning; and 2) so that churches and people can

⁶² Ibid., IV, 20, 6. See also Ford L. Battles, op. cit., p. 414; A. Dakin, op. cit., p. 232.

⁶³ Hyung-ryong Park interpreted Romans chapter 13 to mean that Christians should simply submit to the government and hence no further action (such as political or social participation) should be taken by the church (Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. IX*, op. cit., p. 106).

⁶⁴ John Calvin, *Institutes*, IV, 20, 9. See also Ford L. Battles, op. cit., p. 413; Wilhelm Niesel, op. cit. p. 233.

⁶⁵ Ibid., IV, 20, 2. See also Ford L. Battles, op. cit., pp. 412-413; Wilhelm Niesel, op. cit., p. 232; A. Dakin, op. cit., p. 232.

⁶⁶ Ibid., IV, 20, 3. See also Ford L. Battles, op. cit., pp. 412-413; Wilhelm Niesel, op. cit., p. 233; A. Dakin, op. cit., pp. 222-223.

feel secure and can work on their own tasks with the aid of these systems. Hence these systems are part of His grace. Earthly rulers are authorised to maintain this divinely-appointed ruling power only so long as their rulership is consistent with God's law. If their actions exceeds the limit of their authority, they are no longer acting as God's servants, since their behaviour has deviated from God's original intention.

3.2.3. Fundamentalism's continual adherence to the doctrine of the inspiration and inerrancy of the Bible

Above all, what really identifies today's fundamentalism with historical fundamentalism is its adherence to the doctrine of biblical inerrancy. This, of course, proves that today's Korean fundamentalism still follows a modified version of Calvinism which contains the Old Princeton theologians' doctrine of biblical inerrancy. Following Hyung-ryong Park, Aaron Park appraises Gresham Machen as great fundamentalist scholar: "seen from our Reformed theological tradition, Machen was a great leader of the fundamentalist movement who defended the traditional faith of Christianity against the liberal influence from the Northern American Presbyterian church and (new) Princeton Seminary. He is to be appraised greatly as a scholar, churchman, and Christian in the sense that he tried to express 'biblical faith' from the perspective of Reformed theology, while restoring a 'dying light of Reformed faith' through various activities, including the establishment of Westminster Seminary".⁶⁷ The term 'biblical faith' in this statement is opaque, but he seems to be referring to the first doctrine of the five fundamental faiths, when he noted: "Machen never ceased to emphasise the Bible's plenary and verbal inspiration, which he believed was the work of the Holy Spirit. He believed that the Holy Spirit's supernatural work was extended to all books and every part of the Bible; not only to the characters but also to the mind and thinking of the biblical

⁶⁷ Aaron Park, op. cit., p. 248.

writers in order to prevent them from falling into fallacy".⁶⁸ The point which Aaron tries to make here, against those who argue that the Bible contains only the word of God, is seen in his further statement about Machen's belief in the Bible itself (objectively) as the word of God: "Believers understand that the Bible is the word of God as the Holy Spirit inspires and illuminates their hearts. However, although the Spirit does not illuminate the believers' hearts, the Bible itself is undoubtedly an 'inerrant inspired word of God'".⁶⁹ Hence, Aaron Park posits the doctrine of the inspiration and inerrancy of the Bible as central to the testimony of today's fundamentalism. Some theologians find this position arbitrary and unreasonable. Chung-bae Lee argues that the fundamentalists' absolute view of biblical hermeneutics causes Christianity to slide towards anti-intellectualism. He explains: "The Bible itself is a piece of theological literature. One can easily tell that chapters one and two of Genesis are written by different authors. Denial of this, based on the theory of the verbal inspiration and inerrancy of the Bible, is actually unreasonable".⁷⁰ However, Aaron Park does not admit that biblical criticism is at all reasonable. This follows partly from his historical fundamentalist faith, and mostly because he believes that God's revelation is fully manifested in the Bible and must of necessity be accepted as inerrant without question.⁷¹ While discussing the features of Hyung-ryong Park's theology, Aaron Park regards it as "a non-negotiable conservative theology which is based on the doctrine of biblical inerrancy".⁷² Aaron Park has no difficulty in accepting Hyung-ryong Park's fundamentalist ideas as the proper theological standpoint for the Korean Presbyterian church: "Hyung-ryong Park believed the Bible to be the inerrant and supernaturally inspired word of God. He was the best spokesperson of the traditional faith of the Korean Presbyterian church and explored and employed its

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 248.

⁶⁹ Ibid., pp. 248-249.

⁷⁰ Chung-bae Lee, "The Evangelical Movement Seen in the Perspective of Liberalism" in *Ministry and Theology*, 1992 (Aug.), p. 107.

⁷¹ Aaron Park, op. cit., p. 46.

ideas as the principles of his faith and life. He contributed most in establishing the authority of the Bible in the Korean Presbyterian church".⁷³

While discussing the negative influence of liberalism, Eui-hwan Kim expresses his antipathy towards Karl Barth's theology: "In his commentary on Romans, Karl Barth bitterly criticised liberalism. His theology is well known as neo-orthodox and it contributed in many ways to overcoming liberal theology... However, his theology has as many negative aspects as the liberal theology which he criticised. While liberal theology over-emphasises the historical aspect of revelation, Karl Barth inclined to emphasise its ultra-historical aspect... This is best seen in his view that the Bible itself as the word of God—'the Bible itself is not more than the testimony of the word of God. Hence, the Bible can be seen as containing many fallacies because it was written by humans. However, although the Bible is full of fallacies, it can be considered as the word of God when God uses it as the means of testimony to His revelation'".⁷⁴ Kim regards Barth's understanding of Scripture as a greatest challenge to orthodox faith which believes that the Bible is the word of God (as the Bible itself testifies). Therefore, he prefers to label Barthian theology as 'neo-modernism' rather than 'neo-orthodox'.⁷⁵ In present-day fundamentalist minds, thus, neither the Bible nor those to whom the Bible itself testifies are questioned by attempts at biblical criticism, lest, on the one hand, one be charged with curiosity or, on the other hand, with apostasy. The following statement by Aaron Park shows the theological position he believes today's fundamentalist church and seminary should follow:

If we examine the characteristics or theological structure of Korean conservatism which relate to its Christian history, we come to understand that it has been a Puritan Reformed orthodox theology. This is simply because those missionaries who came to Korea to introduce Christianity followed to Puritan Reformed orthodox theology... They were orthodox theologians in the sense they believed in biblical inerrancy, Christ's virgin birth, substitutionary atonement, bodily resurrection and bodily return.

⁷² Aaron Park, "The Life and Theology of Dr. Hyung-ryong Park" in *The Life and Thought of Dr. Hyung Nong Park*, op. cit., p. 148.

⁷³ Ibid., pp. 148-149.

⁷⁴ Eui-hwan Kim, op. cit., pp. 22-23.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 65.

To show the way of Christian life, they emphasised the observance of Sabbath and tithe offering, and introduced the Puritan lifestyle which regarded drinking and smoking as sin. Therefore, it is quite impressive when we look over the fact that Korean conservatism has maintained, even until today... the Puritan Reformed orthodox theology for over 30 years.⁷⁶

3.2.4. Concluding Remarks

As the large, encompassing theme of Christianity and the vision latent in it, the present-day Korean fundamentalist churches have maintained the positive aspects of both Puritan and Reformed theology. Even in the face of many other theologies, they defended and retained faithfully those they believed to be most important and valuable to them. Duk-joo Lee points to present-day fundamentalism's attempts to link Korean Protestantism with the theology and faith of 'primitive' Christianity (Protestantism) as a positive contribution to the Korean church.⁷⁷ He particularly refers to current fundamentalism's adherence to 'absolute biblical authority' which has prompted the whole church to follow the tradition of biblical faith. However, the fundamentalists' defence of their tradition in a hostile way, along with the militant connotations of their movement, created unexpected problems which eventually, blunted the original intentions of the movement. Furthermore, their emphasis of the doctrine of biblical inerrancy distorts the image of Calvinist tradition. Other deficiencies are seen in the excessive, doctrine-oriented, theological innovation, and pietistic teachings of the distinctively transcendent and ritualistic fundamentalist churches. Pauline theology teaches that no-one receives salvation unless they are justified by faith. Also, Calvinism teaches that salvation is given solely by God's grace. However, present-day fundamentalism strongly emphasises piety and hence a problem arises that people may come to see that piety (i.e. salvation by good works) is sufficient to ensure salvation. It should be noted that Calvin and his followers maintain that humanity's 'legal' obligations are dismissed by the grace of God, or more explicitly by the life, death and resurrection of

⁷⁶ Aaron Park, *Conservative Trends in Contemporary Theology*, op. cit., pp. 272-273.

⁷⁷ Duk-joo Lee, *Korean Christian Thought*, op. cit., p. 39.

Christ.⁷⁸ Churches need to be aware of moral deficiencies that can result from attempts to gain divine consciousness through ascetic and pietistic exercises. However, arguably, this is what the traditional fundamentalist church in Korea has been practising.⁷⁹ It gives an impression that Christianity is one of many religions which demand a certain level of devotion in order to obtain blessings in this life; the levels of devotion are judged by the fundamentalist criteria of Christian life.

As we have examined thus far, Korean Presbyterian churches are, indeed, founded upon Calvinist-fundamentalism. As a result, there was not enough theological support in the churches to underpin their mission over the last forty years. Following this, some present-day fundamentalists are aware of the need for theological development in the face of society's transitions, while others remain as 'historical' fundamentalists.⁸⁰ The former (Eui-hwan Kim and Bok-yun Shin) wish to break from their traditional understanding of fundamentalist Christianity and to re-establish a sound evangelical theology. The contemporary theological situation in Korea is different from that of the 1970s because fundamentalism is now challenged by other theological approaches. Present-day fundamentalists who want to reform their theological standpoint believe it is no longer efficient to retain the missionary-inherited theology which is very defensive in character.⁸¹ Eui-hwan Kim claims that Christianity must stand upon the immutability of the gospel as well as its reality. In other words, the Christian message should be fully maintained but it should be expressed in terms which are comprehensible to the world which exists today.⁸² He believes that when these two elements are observed, current theology can learn from the theology of the past, and be the living theology of contemporary society and the

⁷⁸ John Calvin, *Institutes*, II, 16, 6. See also Ford L. Battles, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-157; Louis Berkhof, *Systematic Theology*, Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1939, p. 434. Berkhof stated that Calvin "firmly maintained that the natural man can *of himself* do no good work whatsoever and strongly insisted on the particular nature of saving grace".

⁷⁹ Bok-yun Shin, "The Comparison Between Evangelicalism, Fundamentalism and Reformation" in *Ministry and Theology*, 1992 (Aug.), p. 74.

⁸⁰ Myung-hyek Kim, "The Prospect and Task of the Korean Evangelicals", *op. cit.*, pp. 122-123.

⁸¹ Bok-yun Shin, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-74.

⁸² Eui-hwan Kim, *The Conservative Theology is Challenged*, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-167.

theology of hope for the future. Kim further claimed, "the establishment of sound orthodox theology is only possible through our secession from 'ultra-fundamentalism' and establishment of a gospel based on scholarly theological training."⁸³ In addition to this claim, he criticised both liberal theology which tends to accept only 'the reality of the gospel', and fundamentalist theology which is deeply immersed in 'theological homesickness' and rejects modern theology without giving it any scholarly attention.⁸⁴

Besides Kim, a number of other fundamentalist theologians, including Myung-hyek Kim and Bok-yun Shin, recognise some negative points that they have in common.⁸⁵ They both realise their failure to adapt their theological systems to society's contemporary trends. Fundamentalists are slow to understand Korea's intellectual, economic and social development; they have little concern for modern science, economics, history, politics, and sociology, which offer positive insights to the church.⁸⁶ Instead, they prefer to maintain the 16th century and 17th century concept of church and society which implies that Christianity is bound to one culture and a single time-frame. Fundamentalist Christians, according to Eui-hwan Kim, rationalise and excuse their idle behaviour by saying, 'everything is in God's hand'.⁸⁷ God's providence, as Calvin perceived, is of necessity right because God created the universe and He cares for it. However, the question is whether Calvin's theology, as a whole, is correctly understood by present-day fundamentalism. Calvin does not omit cultural mandate from his doctrines but considered active participation in society in order to transform the world essential to Christianity. He believed that Christians are called to share the good news of Christ. This is to be achieved by following the example of Christ in caring for the hungry, the naked, and the sick. Hence, Christian dogma is not only for existing believers but for those currently outside the church. It needs mature formulation and interpretation to build

⁸³ Ibid., p. 167.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Myung-hyek Kim, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-123. See also Bok-yun Shin, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-74.

⁸⁶ Eui-hwan Kim, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-169.

bridges between the church and the world in order for God's redemptive work, which is based upon the life and death of Christ, to continue to be the church's mission in society.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

3.3. The Theological Tasks Facing the Korean Church

3.3.1. Expressions of Fundamentalist Faith Amidst Contemporary Cultural and Social Phenomena in Korea

The aim of this section is to argue that present-day Korean fundamentalism needs to interact with the changing phenomena of contemporary Korean society. This argument basically follows Browning's strategic practical theology which is concerned with four basic questions: 1) How do we understand this concrete situation in which we must act?; 2) What should be our praxis in this concrete situation?; 3) How do we critically defend the norms of our praxis in this concrete situation? and 4) What means, strategies, and rhetorics should we use in this concrete situation?

As discussed in the first chapter, when Christianity was introduced in Korea, primarily by American missionaries, its theological formation and apocalyptic themes were largely founded upon contemporary American cultural and social phenomena. Attempts to defend 'traditional' faith against modern hermeneutical developments eventually led to the formation of the fundamentalist movement in the late nineteenth century. The American missionaries to Korea, whose theological backgrounds lay in this conservative theological tendency, brought American fundamentalism into the Korean church. Hence, fundamentalism, which was deeply saturated in pietism and dispensationalism, was transplanted into the Korean church, without much consideration of Korea's cultural and social atmosphere.

As we have seen, twentieth century Korean fundamentalism had both positive and negative aspects. The missionaries' motives and passion were positive aspects of their work, whilst their fundamentalist theology and faith, which were not adequately relevant to contemporary Korean society, were negative aspects.

Much the same is happening in Korean fundamentalism today. Still favouring past-oriented concepts and continuing to define Christianity as ascetic and pietistic,

while holding an arbitrarily dualistic world-view,¹ Present-day Korean fundamentalism distances itself from contemporary Korean social reality. For example, Korean fundamentalism is primarily focused on individuals' prospects of life after death and pays less attention to society *en masse*.² This does not necessarily mean that theological practice should develop into a political theology such as Minjung Theology, but suggests that a reinterpretation of fundamentalism's mission and theological structures is needed in order to uphold both the integrity of the gospel and its relevance to the needs of Korean people.

The current stagnation of the growth of the Korean church, which is largely Presbyterian and fundamentalist in character, demonstrates the crisis of evangelism.³ How are we to respond to this situation? Does it mean that the older

¹ Won-kyu Lee, "A Socio-religious Perspective of Fundamentalism" in *Christian Thought*, 1995 (March), p. 19.

² Arguably, Korean fundamentalism is unbalanced in its theological assertions because it gives superiority to 'not-yet-come eschatology' over 'inaugurated eschatology'. It is uneasy about Latin American Liberation theology and Minjung theology (the Korean version of liberation theology), because it believes such theologies incline towards 'political ideology' and 'neo-Marxism' (Aaron Park, *Conservative Trends in Contemporary Theology*, op. cit., p. 304). To Korean fundamentalism, liberation theology is an extreme horizontal-oriented hermeneutic which ignores important theological aspects such as God's creation, incarnation and Jesus' atonement for the world's salvation (Yong-wha Na, *A Theological Assessment of Minjung Theology, Systematically and Biblically*, Seoul: Christian Literature Crusade, 1987, pp. 220-221). This negative assessment of liberation theology is reasonable, to some extent, because both Latin American Liberation theology and Minjung theology have over-emphasised 'inaugurated eschatology' (God's kingdom as seen in Christ's life and death) but lack theological development for 'the age to come' (future eschatology). Korean fundamentalism has the opposite fault since it over-emphasises 'the age to come' but lacks 'inaugurated eschatology'.

³ Many church growth experts and theologians speak of a stagnation in the growth rate in the early 1990s, and of a reduction in the number of people attending church at the present time. The following data shows the declining rate of church growth in Korea.

Year	1950	1960	1970	1977	1985	1991	1994
Number of Christians	500,198	623,072	3,192,621	5,001,491	6,489,282	8,037,464	8,146,556
Rates of Growth		24.6%	412.4%	56.7%	29.7%	23.9%	1.4%

Data: 1950, 1960 and 1970 statistics are from Korean Socio-religious Research Centre, *Korean Religious Yearbook*, 1993.

1977 statistics are from The Ministry of Cultural and Public Information, *Religion Corporation and the Present Condition of Its Groups*, 1977.

1991 statistics are from *A Social Index of Korea*, 1992.

conceptions of theology are invalid? Or rather, without forgetting everything done by missionaries or abandoning the Lord's mandate to the church to share the gospel with the world, should we not explore again the meaning of Lord's mission mandate in relation to the crucial questions posed by contemporary theology?

Hitherto, Korean fundamentalist theology has been simply an intellectual and systematic understanding and discipline of God and faith. More specifically, it has been primarily a dogmatic and a spiritual discipline. However, confronting a new era, the Korean church and its theology need to impart equal weight to both doctrinal and practical aspects of theology. Theology in Korea is now moving away from its traditional understandings and contains a deeper sense of ecclesiastical tasks.⁴ Moving on from analysing, explaining, and discussing the identity of God, present-day fundamentalist theology should be trying to discerning what God intends us to do today to further His mission. As Korean society requires diverse and versatile theological responses to its existing problems, today's Korean fundamentalism has a greater number of practical tasks and objectives. I now examine how present-day fundamentalism is facing these tasks.

As we enter the new millennium, the church is now faced with a society that is increasingly characterised by theological diversity, high technology and sophisticated scientific knowledge. Present-day Korean fundamentalism shows hostility against the contemporary phenomenon of theological diversity which

1994 statistics are from *A Social Index of Korea*, 1995.

Compared to the increasing numbers in the 1970s, when many people sought God as a means of escape from social and political tensions, the last decade has been a challenge for Korean fundamentalism. The reasons include economic improvement, political stability, and extra leisure. However, the major reasons are found within the church. Compared with previous times (particularly the fundamentalist upheaval between 1930 and 1980) when people saw a pietistic life as integral to Christianity, today's Korean Christians tend to disregard fundamentalist ideas since they often contradict with the inner potentialities of Christianity, i.e. Christianity has implications for both how we should live before God and how we should act towards our neighbours. In other words, it is of question whether the churches fully recognise their roles as God's prophetic messengers to human reality (Won-kyu Lee, *A Sociological Study on the Factors for Church Growth and Decline in Korea*, Seoul: The Society of Theological Studies, Methodist Theological Seminary, 1997, pp. 146-186).

⁴ Won-kyu Lee, op. cit., pp. 180-186.

represents the diversity of theological understandings within the larger arena of Christianity. It still centres its theology upon the five fundamental doctrines and regards any other scholastic approaches, such as socio-scientific analyses, to the Scriptures as breaking away from Reformed biblical understandings.⁵ This not only misunderstands Reformed biblical understanding and condemns other theological hermeneutics indiscriminately, but causes a non-ecumenical spirit to the church (the body of Christ). Therefore, I consider two crucial facts: (1) the importance of being open to diverse theological hermeneutics and (2) the importance of developing ecumenical awareness.

The first of these facts is that the role of theology in a multi-theological society is to express the church's understanding of God, and its impact on people of diverse thinking and beliefs. While considering theological diversity, I note that the Korean church has already seen the negative outcomes of one attempt at syncretism. In brief, indigenisation theology, which was developed in the early 1960s, failed to explain how the gospel can be best portrayed in the Korean religio-cultural context. It eventually ended up as a form of pantheism, which portrayed God enacting His salvation through all existing religions.⁶ This naive religio-cultural method of re-rooting the gospel tended to misconvey its very essence. When the gospel is first examined in its own historical light and is then re-interpreted in one's own context, it is acceptable to picture the revelation of God in our own, personal, terms. In other words, it would not be extreme to picture Jesus having an Asian or European appearance, but it would make Christianity less unique if one were to replace the historical person Jesus, the redeemer of the world, with another religious figure such as Buddha, Confucius or Shamans. Thus, genuine theology in today's pluralist environment needs to find the right place in traditional culture upon which to

⁵ Aaron Park, *Conservative Trends in Contemporary Theology*, op. cit., pp. 301-306. Aaron Park criticises new evangelicalism for its attempts to interpret the Bible in the light of scientific knowledge, and its adherence to 'cooperative evangelism' which centred around Billy Graham's ecumenicalism. Hyung-ryong Park also criticised Billy Graham's ecumenical movement due to its affiliation to WCC and NCC (Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. IX*, op. cit., p. 121).

⁶ Sun-hwan Pyun, "Other Religions and Theology" in *EAJT*/3:2/85, pp. 328-329.

reconstruct Christian facts (doctrine and practice). Rather than identifying the Christian God with other religions' gods, it would be more appropriate to explain the Christian God in languages that are based upon native cultural concepts of supreme being(s), while replacing these traditional views of god with the biblical concept of God.

A multi-theological society also allows the possibility of access to Christian faith via diverse theological methods and interpretations. Just as the theology of indigenisation lost its Christian identity in Korean society, fundamentalism (although it still maintains a strong identity as Christian fundamentalism) has also failed to find ways to demonstrate its identity in today's particular social context.⁷ In the past fundamentalists excluded other theological interpretations. The situation has now been reversed. Now, non-fundamentalist people tend to isolate fundamentalists and often exclude them from the global community.⁸ Christianity's mission crisis is becoming worse than ever. The major problem in today's fundamentalism is its tendency to become 'judgmental'. Its adherents hold to certain fundamental principles upon which they base their hostility towards other theological discoveries. They are anti-hermeneutical and anti-progressive in character.⁹ However, I perceive that Calvin challenged Christian churches to be open to various readings of Holy Scripture. While he understood that Scripture alone is the foundation of human recognition of God, he believed that "only does Scripture suffice to give a saving knowledge of God when its certainty is founded on the inward persuasion of the Holy Spirit".¹⁰ He further indicated that "still the human testimonies which go to confirm it will not be without effect, if they are used in subordination to that chief and highest proof, as secondary helps to our weakness".¹¹ The Holy Spirit alone is the true interpreter of Scripture: "they know of no other Spirit than the one who dwelt and spake in the apostles—the Spirit by

⁷ Bok-yun Shin, op. cit., p. 74.

⁸ Moon-hong Min, *Christian Thought*, Seoul, 1995 (March), p. 46.

⁹ Ibid., p. 47.

¹⁰ John Calvin, I, 8, 13. See also Ford L. Battles, op. cit., pp. 47-48.

whose oracles they are daily invited to the hearing of the Word".¹² Calvin not only acknowledged the importance of Scripture in understanding God but also recognised that Scripture should be interpreted under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Of course, Calvin believed that the Spirit dwells in believers in order to illuminate their hearts. This leads to the understanding that the same Holy Spirit who inspired prophets and apostles to write God's word from various perspectives still takes full charge of leading many theologians and scholars who interpret Scripture in various contexts. Theological discourse can never be localised to a single time and space. Present-day Korean fundamentalism claims the absoluteness of its theology by referring to the Reformed tradition.¹³ However, when one acknowledges the contradictions that exists between Calvin's theology (which allows to interchange with politics, society, science, art etc.) and fundamentalism, one can see that even fundamentalism itself was a theology which emerged within the changing atmosphere of human society. Theology, as the discourse which finds ways to link the faith of the Christian community with critical social theories and ideologies, never employs only one paradigm. Since present-day Korean fundamentalism holds to a single paradigm of theology (i.e. the five major doctrines) which ignores Calvin's understanding that theology is concerned with both doctrines and practice, it is unable to apply its faith to human reality adequately. Present-day Korean fundamentalism, despite its claim of access to the truth of Christianity, represents networks of powers designed to defend established beliefs, ideas and values.¹⁴ When we turn to the reality of contemporary society where politics, economics, religion, and technology are engaged with one another, fundamentalism has little to offer for the present world.

When theology is involved in a context such as today's Korean society, it requires careful attention to various approaches and hermeneutical insights to

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid., I, 9, 3. See also Ford L. Battles, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-49.

¹³ Yong-kyu Park, "Dr. Hyung-ryong Park and Fundamentalism", *op. cit.*, p. 384. See also Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. XIII*, p. 287.

Scripture. Present-day Korean fundamentalism often rejects theological diversity since it believes that theological diversity undermines the uniqueness of Christian essence. More specifically, it rejects theological diversity for two reasons: firstly, it believes that modern scientific, political and social approaches to the Bible undermine the Calvinist understandings, and secondly, it does not accept any connection between Christianity and society because it believes that society is largely tainted by secularism.¹⁵ Charles Hodge, whose theology has greatly influenced Korean fundamentalism, stated that "if we really desire to know what God has revealed we must be conscientiously diligent and faithful in collecting the facts which He [God] has made known, and in giving them their due weight".¹⁶ Hodge made an analogue between theological work and scientific work. As science is based on facts, rather than the making of facts, so theology is based on Scriptural facts. He understood theological work as human research into the Scriptural facts: "We must take the facts of the Bible as they are, and construct our system so as to embrace them all in their integrity".¹⁷ Hodge acknowledged that the facts of the Bible are discovered by human intuition enabled by the Spirit: "Whole systems of theologies are founded upon intuitions, so called, and if every man is at liberty to exalt his own intuitions, as men are accustomed to call their strong convictions, we should have as many theologies in the world as there are thinkers... Believers have an unction from the Holy One, and they know the truth, and that no lie (or false

¹⁴ Won-kyu Lee, "A Socio-religious Perspective of Fundamentalism", op. cit., pp. 18-19.

¹⁵ Fundamentalists regard the world as secular, because they believe the rationalism of the 19th century and industrialization of America brought modernism into the world (Eui-hwan Kim, *The Conservative Theology is Challenged*, op. cit., p. 90). See also Yong-kyu Park, "Dr. Hyung-ryong Park and Fundamentalism" in *The Life and Thought of Dr. Hyung Nong Park*, op. cit., p. 348. Hyung-ryong Park rejected naturalism and rationalism (as posited by W. Hagel and Ernst Troeltsch) because he believed that these ideas lacked theological absoluteness. He stated "we can imagine the worst result from rebellious acts against biblical authority. Reason and empiricism cannot save the consciousness of human beings because they lack absolute authority. Those who despise the Bible will face the depravity of faith" (Hyung-ryong Park, "The Authority of Religion" in *Theological Thought V. 12*, 1930, p. 24). See also Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. IX*, op. cit., pp. 108, 122-123.

¹⁶ Charles Hodge, *Systematic Theology Vol. I*, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

doctrine) is of the truth".¹⁸ Louis Berkhof's understanding of historical interpretation shows that he also understood that biblical interpretation should rely upon basic assumptions: 1) "The word of God originated in a historical way, and therefore, can be understood only in the light of history; 2) a word is never fully understood until it is apprehended as a living word, i.e. as it originated in the soul of the author; 3) it is impossible to understand an author and to interpret his words correctly unless he is seen against the proper historical background; and 4) the place, the time, the circumstances, and the prevailing view of the world and of life in general, will naturally color the writings that are produced under those conditions of time, place, and circumstances."¹⁹ Unlike present-day Korean fundamentalism, which avoids historical interpretation of Scriptures as possible because historical interpretation often ends up questioning its own belief of biblical inspiration and inerrancy, Berkhof emphasises historical interpretation's importance since it is strong evidence for biblical authority. In interpreting the Scriptures, Berkhof is concerned with the Bible's historical background. This includes its authors, their social backgrounds, the various influences which determined the character of the writings, and reconstructing from the historical data at hand, and with the aid of historical hypotheses, the environment in which the particular writings under consideration originated.²⁰ While discussing the necessity of studying the biblical authors' social circumstances, he suggested geographical, political and religious circumstances as crucial areas which should be investigated.²¹ Berkhof's understanding of biblical interpretation is that the Bible is not simply a collection of divine words but a guide to enacting those words in human history.

Thus, present-day Korean fundamentalism's claim to monopolise theology, which has given a negative impression to non-Christians over the last century, is challenged in some respects to accept the possibility of individuals having their own

¹⁸ Ibid., p.15.

¹⁹ Louis Berkhof, *Principles of Biblical Interpretation*, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1958, pp.113-114.

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 114-118.

ways of sharing their faith with others.²² Contemporary fundamentalism has to admit that theology is a way to understand God and a way to seek His will for humanity. There are many ways to interpret God's word: these ways depend on the actual text, its context and the background of the interpreter. Hence, the duty of theology is to focus on God's ongoing ministry. Present-day Korean fundamentalism tends to reject the idea of theological development. It prefers simply to believe in God's revelation rather than to analyse and develop the interactive nature of God's revelation in human life. Whilst emphasising special revelation, it shows insufficient concern for God's ongoing ministry.²³ Christian beliefs, such as church doctrines and Reformed traditions, have been emphasised by fundamentalism, but theology is never defined by beliefs alone. Rather it further indicates and articulates Christian beliefs within the reality of human history.

Present-day Korean society is endlessly complex. In the face of such complexity, it is coming to be recognised that we need contextual theology in order to be able to deal with all the aspects of the relationships between Christianity and the world. However, it should be possible to dig out the parts of the gospel which are relevant to current problems existing between church and society. This is possible through unleashing theology's potential to question contemporary culture. Theology which faces social problems can encourage society to face the present and future with the aid of the Scriptures. Christian theology needs to make society aware of how to overcome fundamentalism's claims to absoluteness. Fundamentalist theology is an inherited 'theology of church' rather than a 'theology of church in relation with the world'.²⁴ Abraham Kuyper's²⁵ understanding that the

²¹ Ibid., pp. 119-121.

²² Seoung-hong Han, *Trends of the Korean Theological Thought Vol. 2*, op. cit., p. 576. Han states that we should not criticise others' theological thoughts or faith, as the medieval church did, since each person can make a unique contribution to biblical understanding. He further stated that both Chong Shin (fundamentalist conservative) seminary and Chang Shin (ecumenical) seminary follow Reformed theology but Chong Shin is less concerned with the theology of context and the ecumenical movement.

²³ Bok-yun Shin, op. cit., p. 73.

²⁴ Hyung-ryong Park, "A Theological Tradition of the Korean Presbyterian Church" in *The Life and Thought of Dr. Hyung Nong Park*, op. cit., pp. 35-52.

significance of the Bible lies in its intimate relationship with human life shows that he understood God's word as a living word in the sense that it leads people to apply its meaning to their social lives:

Reading the Scripture brings to our minds the sphere of divine thoughts so far as needful for us as sinners, in order to glorify God, love our neighbor, and save the soul. This is not a mere collection of beautiful and glittering ideas, but the reflection of the divine life. In God life and thought are united: there can be no life without thought, no thought not the product of life. Not so with us. Falsehood entered us, i.e., we can sever thought from life. Or rather, they are always severed, unless we have voluntarily established the former unity. Hence our cold abstractions; our speaking without doing; our words without power; our thoughts without working; our books that, like plants cut off from their roots, wither before they can blossom, much less bear fruit.²⁵

Scripture is not severed from the world. Therefore, the church is not distinct from the world, and neither is the world distinct from the church.

The second fact is that contemporary Korean fundamentalism needs to promote a spirit of ecumenism in order to be strong enough to deal with today's ecclesiastical individualism. People in Korean society have become less engaged with their vertical relationship with God. Growing use of science and technology seems to be replacing the traditional pattern of dependence on God. As society becomes more competitive, people today tend to overlook religion and have increasing concern for higher education and veteranism. Furthermore, the broad church's inclination to create 'ecclesiastical individualism' causes the ecumenical movement to become less powerful.²⁷ Fundamentalism, as one can see from Hyung-ryong Park and his followers' criticism of the WCC and NCC's social concerns, is particularly focused on a doctrinal faith which has difficulty in enacting its beliefs. Hyung-ryong Park rejects the idea of ecumenism, due to its tolerance of diverse doctrinal interpretations and aim to promote theological interchange and fellowship among churches in the world.²⁸ Even though Park perceived that the ecumenical

²⁵ His theology is highly regarded by Korean fundamentalism.

²⁶ Abraham Kuyper, *The Work of the Holy Spirit*, op. cit., p. 57.

²⁷ Myung-hyek Kim, "The Task and Prospect of Korean Evangelical Movement", op. cit. p. 121. Kim suggests that the Korean church should abandon its individualism and take on board the idea of the 'universal church' which could promote the ecumenical spirit of evangelicalism.

²⁸ Hyung-ryong Park, *Vol. IX*, op. cit., p. 83.

movement could only function on the bases of doctrinal liberalism and interdenominational engagement in social activities, he believed that these would erode the evangelical stance of the doctrines.²⁹ Following Hyung-ryong Park, Aaron Park also shows antipathy towards ecumenism. His distaste for ecumenism originates in its tendencies to deny the inerrancy of the Bible, to embrace Christian evolutionism, and to promote cooperative evangelism and interdenominational fellowship which disregard traditional theological and doctrinal beliefs.³⁰ His assertion implies both that the Christian mission should be centred upon transcendent Christianity and that interdenominational activities should be minimised as each denomination follows different theological creeds. However, Calvin's understanding of the church is rather positive about ecumenism.³¹ By the fact that Christ offers himself to us in the church, Calvin stated, "the renewal of the saints is accomplished, and the body of Christ is edified; in this way we grow up in all things unto Him who is the Head, and unite with one another..."³² We become one body in Christ and, by our union with him, fellowship among believers becomes possible. Thus, to Calvin, the church is not a rigid institution but a living organism, because "unless we are united with all the other members under Christ our head, no hope of the future inheritance awaits us".³³ Unity in Christ, according to Calvin, involves a diversity of spiritual gifts: we can withdraw from ourselves and turn to Christ, and serve him with the gifts which the Spirit imparted to each one of us. Each believer receives from Christ special gift through which Christ works for the edification of the whole church.³⁴ Concerning the schism of the church, Calvin emphasised that it is not necessary to disassociate with the church

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Aaron Park, op. cit., p. 46.

³¹ Although Calvin did not use the term 'ecumenism' in his work, his idea of Pauline theology which explicitly describes that believers are united in one body with Christ, shows Calvin gave reference to ecumenical awareness.

³² John Calvin, IV, 3, 2. See also Ford L. Battles, op. cit., p. 294; Wilhelm Niesel, op. cit., pp. 187-188.

³³ Ibid., IV, 1, 2. See also Ford L. Battles, op. cit., p. 281; A. Dakin, op. cit., pp. 100-101.

³⁴ John Calvin, *Corpus Reformatorum*, 49, 238; 51, 192.

simply because strange doctrines are disseminated, "for there is probably no church which is not marred by some degree of ignorance".³⁵ Of course, Calvin did not mean that erroneous teachings and practices are acceptable.³⁶ Schism can only be permitted when "the church has completely lapsed from the adoration of God and the preaching of the Word".³⁷ This speaks to the conclusion that all churches, so long as they bear witness to Christ and teach God's word, could associate with one another regardless of their diverse theological understandings and doctrines. The fact that absoluteness of theological methods is not biblical (since God created humans with a plethora of reasons and talents) but is a self-asserted view, is a clue that divine revelation is to be obtained through a diverse theological methods.

Calvin's understanding of the church as the body of Christ: one body consisting of many different parts, which are mutually interdependent on each other, leads to the idea that Christians are one in the bond of Christ's love and leadership.³⁸ Calvin's idea of church leads to the understanding that all of the church shares the same faith, worshipping the same God, regardless of doctrines or denominations. The church has the responsibility to create bonds with the world.³⁹ Because of its origin in God's love, the church is directly responsible to God. Because of God's endless care for His creation, the divine origin of Christianity is essentially manifested in physical forms which come into contact with human beings. Hence, the church constructs bonds with the world and with other Christians, because of its direct relationship with God. Many churches in Korea today, facing an ecclesiastical diversity in which each expression of Christianity is valued, are tied to individualism.⁴⁰ Each individual church is self-reliant and pays little attention to the

³⁵ Ibid., 10b, 275, 309.

³⁶ John Calvin, IV, 1, 12. See also Ford L. Battles, op. cit., p. 285.

³⁷ John Calvin, CR, 10b, 310.

³⁸ John Calvin, IV, 1, 3; See also Ford L. Battles, op. cit., pp. 281-282; Wilhelm Niesel, op. cit., p. 188.

³⁹ Won-kyu Lee, "A Socio-religious Perspective of Fundamentalism", op. cit., p. 20. Lee states that one of the problems of fundamentalism is its one-sided emphasis on individual faith and ethics, while being inattentive to social faith and ethics.

⁴⁰ Horace G. Underwood (a third-generation missionary in Korea) comments that the Korean churches in general are very congregational in nature. He stated: "This congregational nature of the

ecumenical movement. The church leaders and congregations tend to limit their ministry to their own individual churches.⁴¹ This often results in keeping Christians apart from one another and thus abrades any communal spirit. It promotes 'come-structure' (a gathering of people in one church) rather than 'go-structure' (a gathering of people to reach out to the community).⁴² This ecclesiastical paradigm is inconsistent with the churches' social responsibility since the church needs to take the initiative in building and reconstructing society's morality and justice. Christians' own experience of social alienation and their participation in ecumenism would show that it is in their common interest to examine how closely they are linked with others. When the church overcomes its introverted ministry and shares the universal biblical messages with the world, it may come to the point where secular culture is invited into the holy community in order to reconcile and sanctify the relationship between the two. The question that still remains, however, is whether Christians are willing to show their tolerance to the world.

Korean churches, combined with the Korean sense of personal loyalty to individuals at the expense of institutions and principles, has contributed to the many splits and divisions in the denominations. When dynamic leaders disagree on matters of doctrine, polity, or even church position, there is a tendency for personal followers to join in dissociating themselves and forming a new denomination" (Horace G. Underwood, "Christianity in Korea" in *Missiology: An International Review*, Vol. XXII, No. 1, 1994 [Jan], p. 73).

⁴¹ Myung-hyek Kim, op. cit., p. 121. See also Eui-hwan Kim, op. cit., pp. 179-180.

⁴² Chung-un Seo, "The Structural Problem of the Korean Church", in *A Theoretical Understanding of Our Society*, Seoul: Institution of the Korean Society, 1985, p. 127.

CONCLUSION

Throughout this research I have discussed what fundamentalism was and is and how it has had a major impact on the Korean church from its outset. As we have seen, Korean Christianity has grown tremendously over the last 100 years. However, today Korean fundamentalism faces difficult questions about why and how the scope of theology should be redefined and reconstructed for mission purposes, and how this reflective theology should engage with contemporary society. Since Christianity is founded upon Jesus Christ, through whose continuous redemptive work humanity may come to acknowledge God's saving grace, the Korean fundamentalist church needs to confront the crucial theological question: "How can Korean fundamentalism maintain central tenets of faith along with due consideration of the practical outworking or implications of this faith?"

In order to deal with this question properly, I have analysed Korean fundamentalism's historico-theological background and this analysis has led me to identify areas in the life of contemporary Korean fundamentalism where change and growth is needed. My argument has been that Korean fundamentalism was influenced heavily by the early American missionaries and by Korean theologian Hyung-ryong Park. The American missionaries played major roles in promoting such tenets of the fundamentalist faith as its anti-cultural, anti-political and non-ecumenical stances, its militancy against diverse theological hermeneutics, its theological innovation and its doctrinal reductionism which led it away from major emphases in the Reformed tradition. Interestingly, Korean fundamentalism today claims that it does follow the Calvinist tradition in its major emphases, and undoubtedly, some aspects of its theology do correspond to those of Calvinist theology. This has been discussed in chapters two and three. However, I have argued that several vitally important characteristics differ from the Calvinist tradition and that these differences become obstacles to the fulfillment of the Korean

church's mission. In so far as Korean fundamentalism has moved away from its Calvinist roots, it has become impoverished theologically and unable to maintain its missionary focus. More specifically, I have concluded that one of Korean fundamentalism's major contemporary issues is, therefore, its apparent lack of understanding of Calvin's conviction that Christian faith is that which lived as well as believed both in the church and in the world.

In addressing these issues, I have drawn upon the work of Don Browning. His work, especially in *A Fundamental Practical Theology*, explores why theology should be fundamentally practical, and I have adopted his methodological moves in arguing that theology should be 'practical', in contrast to Korean fundamentalism's indifference to theological practice. I used Don Browning's idea of fundamental practical theology. Although his work focuses on the American churches, it fits the Korean situation in a surprisingly adequate fashion. Using his approach, particularly his four submovements (descriptive theology, historical theology, systematic theology and strategic practical theology) as a model, I have discussed what Korean fundamentalism is and what its tasks in contemporary Korean society are.

According to Browning, the first submovement is descriptive theology (the description of religious and cultural practices) which requires us to interpret practices by considering their reasons, ideals and symbols. With this in mind, I have sketched, in chapter one, a history of Korean fundamentalism and argued that the major reason that Korean Protestant church became inclined towards fundamentalism was that it was founded upon the fundamentalism which was imported by late 19th-century American missionaries. I have also demonstrated that some of the ideals and symbols through which Koreans became deeply involved in fundamentalism were found in Buddhism's, Confucianism's, and Shamanism's ethical teachings and understandings of transcendent beings. I have argued that these had significant bearings on the development of Korean fundamentalism. Fundamentalist's teaching of a transcendent God, which had some similarities with the traditional religions' ideas of supernatural beings, entered the minds of Koreans

who sought refuge from their troubled lives. During tragic periods of history (such as the Japanese occupation and the Korean War), many Koreans found that traditional religions did not meet their needs since they all seemed to avoid reality. However, as we have seen, Christianity, which came through foreign missionaries with modern technology and skills, provided some hope for the future. The establishment of modern schools, hospitals, and the spiritual guidance of the Bible attracted the Korean people to accept Christianity.

Using Browning's method of descriptive theology, I have also discussed the ideals of the theology of such American missionaries as Horace Underwood and Henry Appenzeller. This was in order to show how much influence they had upon the Korean church's move towards fundamentalism. I found that their teachings that Christians should not engage with cultural, social, political and scientific issues later caused the Korean church to become militantly hostile against all these things as well as other theological hermeneutics. The indoctrination of individualism, with its strong emphasis on individual salvation, resulted in sectarianism and denominationalism in the early twentieth-century. I have argued that these features of the missionaries' approaches, along with their dualistic views of the world and the church, also brought about the church's indifference to society. This led some Koreans to believe that theological practice is no more than ecclesiastical liturgy and does not need to meet society's spiritual, physical and mental needs. I found this to be one of the reasons why Korean fundamentalists became deeply involved in Bible study. Not only did they embrace the Bible as a principle of life but they also believed Bible to be error-free. This led me to examine how Koreans first came across the doctrine of biblical inerrancy through the early American missionary professors (Stacy Robert, W. C. Eerdmans and Floyd Hamilton), who taught theology in Pyung Yang Theological Seminary. I have argued that their shared view that the Bible is inerrant was inherited from the Old Princetonians' doctrine of biblical inerrancy. I noted that the first point (biblical inerrancy) of the 'five-point doctrine', was strongly influenced by these Princeton-graduate missionary

professors. This was significant for my thesis since I have argued that Korean fundamentalism is a theologically innovative movement, i.e. that it has departed from classical Calvinism.

I have further investigated, following Browning's descriptive theology, how the Korean church became fundamentalist during the Japanese colonial period. As one of the reasons, I have argued that non-politicality, which was one of fundamentalism's characteristics, was strictly enforced by the missionaries. The missionary leaders of the Korean church during the Japanese occupation taught it not to engage in politics. Rather than setting an example to oppressed Koreans, the missionaries took neutral positions. As a result of their enforcement of non-politicality, the Korean church split into fundamentalist and liberal camps in the 1930s. Koreans who participated in 'Shintoism' (a Japanese religion involving ancestral spirits) or followed biblical criticism became liberals, while those who went against these became fundamentalists. While Hyung-ryong Park became a spokesperson for fundamentalism, Jae-jun Kim represented liberalism. The central aim of this thesis required examination of Park's fundamentalist theology.

In chapter two, I have described the background of Hyung-ryong Park's fundamentalist theology and how his theology has guided the Korean church in a fundamentalist direction. Browning's second submovement (historical theology), which asks "What do the normative texts that are already part of our effective history *really* imply for our praxis when they are confronted as honestly as possible?", lay behind this chapter in so far as I discussed how Park's theology became the foundation of Korean fundamentalism and how it can be meaningful to contemporary Korean society, namely when considered in the light of classical Calvinism. Using Park's theology as normative texts which are already part of Korean Christianity but whose implications for Christian praxis need to be examined, I discussed both the positive and negative aspects of his influence. I found that some of his dogmatics accord with Calvinism, and, so, become parts of a larger practical hermeneutic enterprise. However, I have argued that Park's belief

that the doctrine of biblical inerrancy is part of orthodox Christianity and that the 'five-point' doctrine is the core of historical Christianity is beyond the Calvinist tradition. In order to show how he came to hold such views, I briefly discussed his upbringing and his education in North America— factors which inclined him towards fundamentalism. While studying in Old Princeton School, the young Park came across the theological works of Alexander, Hodge, Warfield and Machen. I have argued that, being strongly influenced by Gresham Machen, his mentor, Park became a fundamentalist and began to defend the so-called 'five-point' doctrine. These five points, interestingly, were not actually defined by American fundamentalism. Therefore, I have argued that it was Park who adopted the Presbyterian five points, with the premillennial return of Christ as the fifth point, as the essentials of Korean fundamentalism.

I have further discussed that Park's fundamentalist theology had brought about both positive and negative results. His theology contributed much to the understanding of Reformed theology and American fundamentalism. The significance of this work was to show that Park's theology is largely based upon Reformed theology but is inclined towards fundamentalist-Calvinism in that he adopted Old Princetonian's theological innovation. He proclaimed Reformed theology, especially Calvinism and Old Princeton theology, Alexander, Hodge, Warfield and Machen, to be the orthodox faith of the Korean church. However, I have argued that Park's understanding that Old Princeton theology (especially its teaching of biblical inerrancy) was classical Calvinism was incorrect, or at least misguided. There has been debate among such scholars as William J. Abraham, Theodore P. Letis, Randall H. Balmer and J. D. Woodbridge as to whether the doctrine of biblical inerrancy is new to Christian tradition. Relying on such scholars as George Marsden, James Barr, Harriet Harris, John Leith and Calvin himself, I have concluded that the doctrine of biblical inerrancy as held by Benjamin Warfield and other Princetonians contained much innovation. None of this latter scholars (George Marsden, James Barr, Harriet Harris, John Leith) assume that Calvin

referred to biblical inerrancy. Since Calvin did not use the term 'biblical inerrancy' and the Old Princetonians made attempts, based on Common Sense Philosophy, to prove that the Bible is inerrant, it is doubtful that Calvin was the originator of this doctrine as it came to be understood. This issue is important because Korean fundamentalism, which sets great store by this doctrine, is ignorant of other theological interpretations. Hence, I have argued that Korean fundamentalism has inherited a modified form of Calvinism by accepting Princeton theology as genuine Calvinism and by forcing Calvin's theology into a limited set of doctrines without considering their practical implications.

Korean fundamentalism's lack of understanding that Reformed theology regarded ethics and moral theology as part of the theological practices of dogmatics led me to examine how Park came to embrace five fundamental doctrines as the core of Christianity and how these are related to theological assertions made by the writers of *The Fundamentals: A Testimony to Truth*. Browning's third submovement (systematic theology) was relevant in this section. In line with this submovement, I have examined generic features of Park's fundamentalism in relation to generic features of the theological issues described in *The Fundamentals*. This examination was crucial as far as doctrinal reductionism was concerned. Korean fundamentalism needs to see the broad scope of doctrinal faith that Reformed tradition had for its mission. Moving away from the richness of Christian doctrines, Korean fundamentalism has become narrowed into a small set of doctrines. In the long run, this doctrinal reductionism reduces the number of opportunities to promote Christian identity through relevant practices. Significantly, I have found that Hyung-ryong Park's theology largely resembled the articles contributed to *The Fundamentals*. I have examined and analysed how closely Hyung-ryong Park's five-point doctrine was related to the theological assertions explored in the articles. When modern liberalism challenged Korean fundamentalism in the early 1930s and, more vigorously, in the 1960s, Park identified himself as fundamentalist and firmly defended the five fundamental

doctrines based on the Old Princeton theologians' theological standpoints and the fundamentalist writers' arguments as described in *The Fundamentals*. Two results of fundamentalism's militancy against other theological hermeneutics were theological privatisation and lack of ecumenical spirit among the churches. In chapter three, I have discussed how these tendencies continue even today and some possible approaches to overcoming such problems.

In chapter three, I have explored how fundamentalism has influenced upon the current theological trends of the Korean church. This basically followed Browning's sketch of the fourth submovement (strategic practical theology) which emphasises the need to define the norms of practice which build bridges between the church and the world. Present-day Korean fundamentalism leads Christians to discredit modern theological interpretations of the Scriptures and often leads them to condemn modern culture as evil. Korean fundamentalism is primarily confined to doctrine; it lacks the practical aspects of Christian theology. Its adherence to the five fundamental doctrines and to theological notions which ignore culture show that it is not concerned with linking its doctrine to contemporary practices (Browning refers to these as public liturgies and rhetorics). I have noted that the only prescription it can provide for Christian social life is teaching how to live piously, honestly, diligently and moderately. Fundamentalism teaches that one achieves such a way of life through 'conversion', and no social progress is made without personal submission to divine law and Christian ethics. This means that Korean fundamentalism prefers neutrality in social questions because it often hinders a personal conversion to Christianity. In contrast to this view, I have argued that Korean fundamentalism often gives the impression of theological privatisation and anti-intellectualism.

Emphasising the importance of both doctrine and practice, I have also argued the necessity of exploring the practical aspects of Calvin's theology in the Korean fundamentalist church. It became clear that the Korean fundamentalist church needs to take into account both the cultural context and the mission mandate of the church.

While the gospel of Christ is continuously carried out by the church, some fundamental issues, such as rediscovering the implications of theology in contemporary society (i.e. a multi-theological society), must be dealt with in order to manifest God's revelation in today's world. The challenge here is great. I have only begun to investigate ways in which Korean fundamentalism can benefit from fresh engagement with Calvin's teachings. However, we can at least see the importance of questioning and testing Korean fundamentalism's view of the relative importance of doctrine and practice to the Reformed tradition. Present-day fundamentalism commits to doctrinal reductionism by emphasising the five major doctrines as the central themes of Christianity.

Thus, taking into account Korean fundamentalism's theological-practical deficiencies and its deviation from the Reformed tradition, I have begun to explore some theological tasks which the fundamentalist church may have to face in the new millennium. Following Browning's strategic practical theology, I have argued that Korean fundamentalism needs to establish its strategies in the light of analyses of the Korean church's actual situation. In the face of the stagnation in the church growth today, the fundamentalist church must clarify its identity as a spiritual guide for the twenty-first century. The Korean church has experienced numerous problems and challenges throughout its history. Perhaps these might have been inevitable results of the contextual fluctuation of society. However, more than social and political factors, the ecclesiastical factor appears to have been the major problem. I have suggested an important way to reconstruct or to supplement present fundamentalist theology in Korea—expressions of fundamentalist faith amidst contemporary cultural and social phenomena (including moving beyond privatisation of theology, anti-intellectualism and individualism of church).

It is time for Korean fundamentalist theology and churches to re-examine Calvin's own understanding of Christian theology. With the wider vision for world mission in a pluralist society and the consistent implementation of moral and spiritual life of the Christians in this world, the Korean church will hopefully again

start to make an enormous spiritual and moral impact. As much as it focuses its ministry on the spiritual life of the congregation, it must also meet the hopes and expectations of Christians and non-Christians. It must not lose its identity as Christo-Praxis (a community called out by God who exists as historical witness) and a role model to everyone in the world. To achieve this goal, the church needs to reconstruct its theological meaning in the light of the practical knowledge of God's revelation in the church and the world.

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